Revisiting the literary canon of the Spanish Transition from a feminist perspective the response to the pact of forgetting and the consensus in the early novels of Montserrat Roig, Esther Tusquets, Rosa Montero and Lourdes Ortiz and their sentimental counter-education

Blanco, Leticia

Awarding institution:
King's College London

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Leticia Blanco Muñoz

First Supervisor: Federico Bonaddio

Second Supervisor: Daniel Muñoz Sempere

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

Department of Spanish Portuguese and Latin American Studies

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Introduction

Novels of the Transition written by women have not been adequately analysed by scholars, who approach them with a male critical gaze and relegate them to a marginal place in the canon of the period. The consequence of this (gendered) critical blind spot is that a form of historical experience with important sociopolitical implications–expressed by women writers but not strictly being a form of 'women's experience'–has been left out of the cultural memory of the period. Moreover, the failure to transmit their experience and their novels' (in)direct testimony to conflict and dissensus has bolstered the hegemonic discourse of the Spanish Transition. This thesis examines some of the early novels of Montserrat Roig, Esther Tusquets, Rosa Montero and Lourdes Ortiz as 'testimonial', making a twofold intervention: 1. it revises the canon of the Spanish Transition, and 2. it subverts the dominant discourse of the Transition, which allows us to see the post-Franco democratisation of Spain as being an unfinished project.

In this introduction, I explain the personal circumstances that shaped my enquiry and show how even some of the most recent accounts of the Transition do not include women. I provide a literary review with key texts on which I will build, acknowledging the relevant work done to date, while pointing out the lacunas. I will then develop the notion of the Spanish Transition as *process/discourse* as it will be central to my analysis.

My reading of the novels shows aspects that significantly contradict the dominant discourse about the Transition–a discourse that, constructed during the political process, became hegemonic and persisted until today–and prove that these aspects are relevant not only to women but to society as a whole. To show these counter-hegemonic aspects, I connect the novels with today's

reassessing views of the period, articulating my analysis around the three most resilient narratives of the Spanish Transition: the pact of forgetting, the consensus and the new Spain. I set out the structure of the thesis in three chapters in correlation with these three narratives, as I explain at the end of the introduction.

i. A personal encounter with the literary canon.

Long ago, I realised that, at the three different Spanish universities where I have studied, I had been assigned very few female writers to read for class–nor did I receive a lecture on contemporary Spanish literature written after the Civil War.[1] In accordance with feminists who have highlighted the impact of this absence, especially on female students' education, I can also affirm from my own personal experience that: 'By the end of her freshman year, a woman student would have learned something about intellectual neutrality; she would be learning, in fact, how to think like a man' (Showalter 1971: 855).

In case anyone dared to redress the absence in one of those rare, very specific modules on women writers, authors like Carmen Martín Gaite—who won many awards during a fruitful writing life from 1957 to 2000, the year of her death—were presented (at best) as the inhabitants of an ahistorical gendered space. The failure to analyse social and historical themes in these

[1] In the university context, Miguel Hernández—beloved poet of the Generation of 36—was the last author of twentieth-century Spain. I understand the reason for this to be that going beyond 1939 entailed facing the outcome of the Civil War and interpreting it by producing a narrative that explained the dictatorial and post-dictatorial context of literary works. Although many lecturers probably thought that the best way to avoid creating a biased narrative was avoiding narratives completely, I do not see how this strategy escapes accusations of bias, considering that the absence here is as meaningful as the presence.

authors' works created a void of knowledge (or a partial knowledge) that I have been trying to fill ever since, an exercise which has been largely fuelled by feminist literary criticism.[2]

I became particularly interested in the Spanish Transition and began to explore its socio-political context, as the origin of the democracy into which I was born. I also began to read novels and short stories written by female authors during the period. Soon I found certain contradictions: firstly, the transitional process was regarded a success by the official history while it was not felt as such when narrated in the novels through their characters' experiences; secondly, when examining the period's canon the presence of women writers was remarkably inconsistent.

On the one hand, certain names repeatedly appear in handbooks: Montserrat Roig (1956-1991), Esther Tusquets (1936-2012), Lourdes Ortiz (1943—), Rosa Montero (1951—), Carme Riera (1948—), Soledad Puértolas (1947—), Cristina Fernández Cubas (1945—), Marina Mayoral (1942—), Nuria Amat (1950—). Amongst them Montero, Riera, Tusquets and Roig 'llegaron a ser parte del imaginario social colectivo como las "caras" de la Transición y se consideran hoy autoras canónicas de ese periodo' (Moszczyńska-Dürst 2017: 10). Their early novels have not been ignored and some, such as Montero's *Crónica del desamor* (1979) and Roig's *L'hora violeta* (1980), were actually on the list of best-sellers (Nieva 2001: 38). Many critics attest to their relevance and their reception's success, as we will see in the literature review below.

[2] Amongst many, I find Susan Lanser's examination of feminist literary criticism in her article 'Feminist Literary Criticism: How Feminist? How Literary? How Critical?' most inspiring. See Lanser (1991). In the contemporary Spanish context, Pilar Nieva de la Paz's rich analysis of female narrators has also been a key starting point for my study.

On the other hand, it is so often the case that in reviews about the literature of the Transition only one or two female authors will be mentioned (when, in fact, they are not ignored altogether). Just to give an example, in 2016, reputed literary critic José María Pozuelo Yvancos wrote a short piece in *Mercurio*, a monthly journal dedicated to the promotion of reading, arguing that '*la novela española durante la Transición* vivió la coexistencia de dos líneas principales: la recuperación de la narratividad y la experimentación metaliteraria' (Emphasis added. 2016: online). I might or might not agree with his analysis, but I do certainly disagree with his categorisation of 'la novela de la Transición' if this means the work of Eduardo Mendoza, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, Juan Marsé, Jesús Ferrero, Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, Juan Goytisolo, Julián Ríos, Luis Goytisolo, Juan García Hortelano, Manuel Longares, José María Guelbenzu, José María Merino, Javier Marías, Luis Mateo Díez, Enrique Vila-Matas and that of Carmen Martín Gaite.

Is it legitimate to speak of the Transition's literature referring to the work of fifteen male and one female authors? Is it then a fact that the female authors mentioned above are part of the literary canon of the period? Or is it not? These questions are not original. Many feminists have reflected on the gender politics of literary criticism and challenged the literary canon all around the world and, although their attempts to transform the literary canon have not gone without resistance or even open opposition, we can certainly speak of a fruitful field of study.

There is a difference, however, between the Anglo-Saxon tradition and others, the Spanish amongst them. While already in the 1980s, the Anglo-Saxon feminist literary criticism celebrated its coming-of-age (see Kolbert 1987), María Jesús Fariña and Beatriz Suárez lamented in the 90s that 'en

España la teoría literaria feminista apenas se ha desarrollado' and that 'los estudios que desde tal orientación se llevan a cabo son todavía muy escasos', concluding that, compared to the bibliography available in English, 'la aportación española–originales y traducciones–resulta casi anecdótica' (1994: 321).

Fortunately, the gender politics of literary criticism has been unveiled–see e.g. Freixas (2000, 2009)–and feminist criticism in Spain increasingly finds acceptability, gaining active adherents–see Navas (2009). In this regard, it is worth mentioning the intense activity of the ADHUC–Centre de Recerca Teoria, Gènere, Sexualitat (Research Center for Theory, Gender, Sexuality) of the Universitat de Barcelona.[3] Nonetheless, it seems to me that much has still to be done.

I agree with Àngels Francés-Díez when she affirms that '[a]lgunes critiques […] mostren un optimisme sense precedents pel que fa a la relació de les autores que publiquen després del 1975 amb el cànon literari'[4] (2003: 117). Francés-Díez responds here to Catherine Davies's argument in her analysis of the early works of Montserrat Roig and Rosa Montero that literature of the period written by women 'has found a sizeable niche in the literary canon' (1994: 4). According to Davies, and despite the problematic relationship Spanish women had with feminism, a speedy and concentrated

[3] The core of its research is the GRC (Grup de Recerca Consolidat-Consolidated Research Group) *Creació i pensament de les dones* (Women's creation and thinking). This GRC consists of three research groups of the Universitat de Barcelona with a long and highly productive trajectory in relation to the number and importance of their scientific activities, distribution and capacity since 1990: the Centre Dona i Literatura-Gènere, sexualitats i crítica de la cultura (Center of Woman and Literature-Gender, sexualities and culture criticism), the Seminari Filosofia i Gènere (Seminar Philosophy and Gender), and Tàcita Muta-Grup d'Estudis de Dones i Gènere a l'Antiguitat (Tàcita Muta-Studies Group of Women and Gender in Antiquity).

[4] 'Some criticism shows an unprecedented optimism as regards the relation of authors publishing after 1975 to the literary canon,' my translation.

political reform took place 'impelled by an exuberant Women's Movement in the late 1970s' (1994: 13), which allowed Spanish women to enjoy the same rights as women in the European Community.

Davies already points out some drawbacks of Spanish women's breakaway when she says that 'following these reforms, the embryonic feminist movement fell into disarray' (1994: 14). It could be argued that part of society felt the fight was already over. For these women writers who published after 1975, however, 'the sexual revolution could be nothing less than a revolution at all levels of society' (Davies 1994: 21), something that still needs to be argued twenty-five years after Davies and forty-five years after Montero and Roig.

Querying the mentioned niche for women authors in the literary canon, Francés-Díez questions the nature of the literary canon itself: 'a què es refereix quan parla de cànon literari (El tradicional? El que algunes crítiques feministes qüestionen o miren de capgirar? Un de nou?) o a aquest lloc que se suposa que la literatura de dones dels setanta hi ha trobat'[5] (2003: 117).

It was in the 1970s, according to Pilar Nieva de la Paz, when 'el debate sobre la "narrativa femenina" española saltó con especial fuerza a la palestra pública' (2001: 31). As we know, the level of education, especially amongst women, rose at a remarkable rate during the 1970s. Better qualified and more highly educated women increasingly entered the labour market and the public sphere, and they became active readers and consumers. They demanded narratives that portrayed the new realities that society as a whole was facing,

[5] 'What does she refer to when she speaks of literary canon (the traditional canon? the one that is questioned by some feminist criticisms or attempt to change? A new one?) or to this place that is supposed to have been found for women's literature of the seventies,' my translation.

and novels written by women saw an increase in sales. Various critical proposals emerged that sought to examine the creations of women novelists within the framework of a potential feminine writing.

In the preface to *The Feminist Encyclopedia of Spanish Literature* (2002), Janet Pérez and Maureen Ihrie affirm: 'a majority of women writers– including some of the most important exponents of feminist issues and writers on women's topics–reject the feminist label for varied and complex cultural and political reasons' (Quoted in Fariña 2016: 31). These women writers feel that talking about 'women's literature' or 'feminine writing' when 'men's literature' or 'masculine writing' do not even exist as categories[6] allow for their exclusion from the canon, establishing a sub-canon–see Vicente (1991). That is usually why they tend to be written about in isolation from the literary and sociopolitical context in which male writers (or simply, other authors) are usually studied.

In 1984, Esther Tusquets declared:

> El hecho de ser literatura de mujeres nos ayuda, porque está de moda; a lo mejor vendes mucho y se escribe mucho sobre ti. Pero al mismo tiempo quedas muy catalogada, y no te tienen en cuenta cuando hablan de literatura en serio… Es un poco pesado que te encuadren y se hable en un programa de ti casi siempre en el apartado de las mujeres. (Quoted in Nichols 1992: 199)

[6] In this sense, and questioning the canon from a feminist perspective, María Jesús Fariña asks: '¿por qué hablar de "mujeres escritoras" empleando una redundancia innecesaria? Pero también ¿hasta qué punto es ya productivo hablar de "escritura/literatura de mujeres" o de "literatura y mujeres" cuando, por el contrario, nunca se emplean las etiquetas simétricas escritura/ literatura de hombres" o "literatura y hombres"?' (2016: 20).

Many authors have protested on many occasions against this ghettoisation, and they continue to do so–for the prevalence of this issue in the publishing and literary world nowadays, and not only in Spain, see Zas (2017). In 2015, Rosa Montero complained about the limiting effect the category of 'women's literature' has on the interpretation of women's novels: while a male protagonist created by a male author embodies humankind, a female protagonist created by a female author is usually understood exclusively as a woman. 'Yo no escribo de mujeres, escribo del género humano,' concludes Montero (Interviewed by Gallego, 2015). This labelling, then, is neither exclusive to the transitional period nor restricted to Spain. Nevertheless, at the time Franco died, it was especially acute in the country.

One of the reasons for the contradictions in the literary canon of the Spanish Transition regarding the presence/absence of female writers is related to what Catherine Davies revealed in 1994: '[e]xamples of Spanish male critics' lack of understanding abound' (1994: 1)–an affirmation she supports in subsequent pages (see pp. 1-4). I bring here my own examples in order to show the origins of my research question.

Reviewing the literary works of the period, some critics discussed what they saw as writers' responsibility to make the most of the new parameters of freedom. They reproached contemporary writers, who had claimed that they would be able to write finer literature had they not been censored, for their failure to do so once censorship was lifted. However, the contemporary critic of *El País* Rafael Conte stated in one of his reviews: 'Las mujeres siguen un camino tan impertérrito como real. Dentro de sus imperfecciones son ellas las que parece que *tienen algo que decir*' (Emphasis added. 1985: 24).

Despite admitting the fact (with reservations) that the narratives of these (women) authors were an essential condition for the desired and desirable renewal of the moment, Conte finished the article by going back to the previous reproof—that Spanish authors had nothing to say and had not fulfilled their commitment after being released from censorship—and he asked: 'Y ahora, ¿qué decimos?' (1985: 24). Apparently forgetting his own words, Conte paid no more attention to what women writers were actually saying, which would, in theory, have answered his closing question.

In an article titled 'Dulces pero poco útiles' dated 1988, another well-known literary critic and historian, Sanz Villanueva, emphasised what he saw as the disconnect between art (novels, in particular) and the social context of the Transition:

> *Si […] un historiador reconstruye, allá por el siglo XXV, cómo fue la vida nacional en estos años constitucionales sobre algunos testimonios literarios […] la imagen que ofrecería sería bien poco reconocible para quienes los estamos viviendo. En su hipotética investigación saldrá un mundo feliz en que la gente se despepitaba por cómo se hace una novela o revivía aventuras insólitas sucedidas en centurias pasadas. En ella difícilmente aparecerían los jóvenes que no dan un duro por su pellejo porque esta sociedad del bienestar*—ma non troppo—*no tiene un curro que ofrecerles. Tampoco le sería muy fácil reconstruir este acelerado cambio de valores morales que estamos presenciando*. (Italics in the original. Quoted in Sanz Villanueva 2013: 16)

I quote at length here in order to highlight the additional key point that the critic believes the literature of the period is lacking: an account of '*este acelerado cambio de valores morales que estamos presenciando*.'

It is the same author who, in 2013, repeats his earlier argument, reiterating the absence of what he calls 'material testimonial' during the Transition, although this time—twenty-five years later—he makes an exception: literature written by women. In a section dedicated to the first novels published by Esther Tusquets (*El mismo mar de todos los veranos*, 1978) and Rosa Montero (*Crónica del desamor*, 1979), Sanz Villanueva affirms that when approaching these literary narratives (and those by other women writers):

> al contrario de lo que he anotado respecto de otros asuntos, existe una abundante materia testimonial […]: el perfil de la mujer nueva, los problemas emergentes, la sensibilidad inédita para contar vivencias hasta ahora proscritas, los acentos militantes y reivindicativos… Muchos matices de una plural realidad. (2013: 32)

Although the critic apologises for relegating women's writing—paradoxically naming it 'el que acaso sea el gran fenómeno social del postfranquismo' (Sanz Villanueva 2013: 32)—to the end of his chapter, his main argument remains that during the Transition there was no literature that could attest to the conflictive reality of the period and provide an account of the accelerated changes in moral values that occurred in Spanish society.

What these critics (mainly men) expected to find and, to their disappointment, was apparently absent is what I call here *literatura testimonial*. According to Vázquez Montalbán, authors are 'testimoniales'—

a category with which he identifies himself—when they dare to 'reflejar la realidad con un aspecto crítico, desde un aspecto crítico' (1991: 20) in the belief that literature possesses a transformative power that has a direct impact on society.

Not only did female authors of the period reflect on themselves and their identities, they also wrote about their wider social reality to such an extent that some Anglo-Saxon critics have highlighted the fact that '[a]unque cada autora tiene un acercamiento propio al tema, se nota que en las escritoras españolas (a diferencia de algunas anglo-americanas) lo social (y la importancia de las relaciones con otros) triunfa sobre lo exclusivamente individual' (Johnson 2009: 23).

According to certain critics, however, this statement about the prominence of social over individual aspects in the approach of Spanish female writers is problematic. Robert Manteiga, for example, states that:

> una nueva generación de mujeres novelistas se ha dedicado a cuestionar el papel tradicional de la mujer en la sociedad española. Pero en lugar de centrarse en los factores político-sociales que determinan el papel que viene desempeñando la mujer, se interesan más bien por sacar a la luz la problemática interior en que se debate esta. (1988: 22)

I expect to argue in this thesis that the retrospection followed by our novels' protagonists is an exercise of tracing the sociopolitical elements that have conditioned their subjectivisation.[7]

[7] The most problematic is generally the case of Tusquets. Although I can see a certain introspection in Tusquets's use of stream of consciousness, I align with M. J. Marr when she states that the protagonist of Tusquets's El mismo mar 'emerges periodically in a conscious

The problem was that male critics read some of the recurrent themes in these female authors' work (love/sexual relationships, gender division) as women's business and, belittling their corpus or reducing their success to the increase in market sales as part of a publishing strategy,[8] they failed to refer to the relevance of female writers' message, even as many acknowledged their contribution to ideological and cultural renovation in the sociopolitical post-dictatorship context. Given that the greatest influence in all cultural spheres (including literary criticism) has been historically male (and Spain is no exception), I believe that these male scholars' interpretation of the literary narratives of the period has ossified, creating a canon that, in spite of including women writers, has generalised men writers' tendencies.

The supposed lack of *literatura testimonial* is related to what a group of analysts have recently called CT or 'Cultura de la Transición',[9] a cultural paradigm that the new democratic institutions used as a means of legitimisation. The new democratic governments—particularly the PSOE's after their triumph in the 1982 elections–, seeking to govern by hegemony with the support of the intelligentsia, conditioned artistic and cultural production, and in so doing they shaped the canon of the period.[10] Through

struggle to chart and comprehend the "geography" of the external world, the space within whose chaotic flux she finds herself immersed' (2004: 218) or with Rosalía Cornejo when, talking about the same character, she sees that: 'La identidad individual aparece indisolublemente unida a la colectiva, según reconoce la narradora' (1995: 55).

[8] Regarding the publishing strategy, Nieva mentions the critiques of Ramón Acín, Rafael Conte, José Carlos Mainer, Martínez Cachero, Luis Suñén (2001: 31).

[9] The term CT is a collective construction that can be used as a tool of analysis. It reads cultural reality in Spain based on the belief that, in a democratic system, 'los límites a la libertad de expresión no son las leyes. Son límites culturales' (Martínez 2012: 14). In the CT, according to those who coined the term, 'un objeto cultural es reconocido como tal, y no como marginalidad, siempre y cuando no colisione con el Estado;' simultaneously, the State 'con su dinero, sus premios, sus honores, facilita la cosa y ahorra tiempo, al decidir lo que es cultura o no' (Martínez 2012: 16). I do not use the 'Cultura de la Transición' as an epistemological paradigm but as an eye-opening approach.

[10] I understand 'hegemony' in Marxist terms, as the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling class to impose their beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values, and mores—as natural and inevitable, rather than as artificial constructs—, so that their worldview becomes

the monopoly of words and topics, the CT closed off the possibilities for contentious cultural products and this, according to most critics, led to 'un nuevo y resignado conformismo, una nueva apatía política' (J. L. Aranguren quoted in Vilarós 1998: 105) or 'the democratic rhetoric of complacency' (Song 2005: 16). In search of opportunities to publish and thus gain recognition, many writers adapted to the political project of cohesion and offered unchallenging narratives, ending, in the words of Juan Goytisolo, in 'una limitación y empobrecimiento de su ámbito literario, en una alborotada pero inane celebración del vacío' (1999: 55). According to the CT theory, their works became part of the canon as a consequence of such adaptation.

The establishment of a canon has an essential role in creating social identity by deciding what is visible, meaningful, representative, and what is not. As a consequence of relegating women writers to a sub-section, their experiences of the Transition were not transmitted and, consequently, have not become part of the present *cultural memory*.

Originating from Halbwachs' notion of 'collective memory'—developed in *La mémoire collective* (1950)—and indebted to Paul Connerton's notion of act of transfer—explained in *How societies remember* (1989)—, 'cultural memory' is a term coined by Jan Assmann in his work *Kultur und Gediichtnis*, edited with Tonio Hölscher (1988). *Cultural memory* combines the study of what happened and the understanding of how what happened is passed down to us, following Halbwachs's argument that memory cannot be considered exclusively an individual faculty. While

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the cultural norm, justifying and perpetuating the social, political, and economic status quo that benefits them. I use Gramsci's notion of 'intellectuals' in relation to cultural life elaborated in *Prison Notebooks*, when referring to the construction of the hegemonic discourse of the Spanish Transition.

'collective memory' refers to a memory which is mutual to the members of society, a type of framework on which we can locate, understand and contextualise our own memories and through which our memories gain significance, 'cultural memory' attends to the processes of transmission. 'The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image' (Assmann, J. 1995: 132).

Unlike collective memory, whose construction seems to affect contemporary generations and does not attend to the mechanisms of transmission, *cultural memory* is an ongoing process that has an impact on future generations. It is closer to Aleida Assmann's description of the archive as a source of information whose pure potential needs to be actualised to enable its transmission and its reception 'by future individuals who, in witnessing the witnesses, will themselves learn and know and remember' (2006: 271). I argue that the establishment of the canon as described above created a lack of transmission, thus a void in our *cultural memory*, that still persists, as illustrated by the following statements of contemporary writers Marta Sanz and Elia Barceló.

In an interview conducted by Isabelle Touton, Marta Sanz–one of the most prestigious contemporary Spanish writers, PhD., and a declared feminist–, talking about her novel *Daniela Astor y la caja negra* (2013), explains: 'Para mí era importante contar la Transición, en esta novela, desde un punto de vista que había sido *muy poco estudiado*, por lo que yo conozco, en la narrativa española: *esa posición de las mujeres*' (Touton 2018: 97).

Similarly, in 2018, Elia Barceló–also PhD., author of twenty novels and the first woman to obtain the UPC Award, the most important Spanish award in science fiction–affirms:

> Cuando se oye la palabra 'Transición' en nuestro país, la asociación es inmediata: fin del régimen de Franco, democracia, constitución, partidos políticos… […] Sin embargo hay algo fundamental en la sociedad de la época que no se suele tratar, o no con el detalle y la intensidad que, a mi juicio, merece. *Me refiero a la situación de la mujer y a sus conquistas* que, poco a poco, harán que su vida sufra una profunda transformación, tan profunda como la de la convivencia política. (Emphasis added. 2018: online)

Their words confirm the lack of transmission of women's historical experience argued above, so my project's contribution is an attempt to amend it by re-examining some of the early novels and short stories published by Montserrat Roig—*Ramona, adéu* (1972), *El temps de les cireres* (1977), *L'hora violeta* (1980) and *L'opera quotidiana* (1982)—, Esther Tusquets—*El mismo mar de todos los veranos* (1978), 'Las sutiles leyes de la simetría' (1982) and *Para no volver* (1985)—, Rosa Montero—*Crónica del desamor* (1979) and *La función Delta* (1981)—, and Lourdes Ortiz—*Luz de la memoria* (1976), *Urraca* (1982) and *Arcángeles* (1986). I make use of some of their non-fiction texts too regardless of their publishing date. Some novels which I consider seminal works of the period will be analysed in greater depth than others.

For my analysis, the start and end points are 1975 and 1986 respectively. In reading the narrative of the period, 1975 and the death of Franco emerges as the most powerful date symbolically speaking, as he fully embodied the regime that he ran. Roig's *Ramona, adéu* is the only novel published before 1975 and, unlike the others, it will not receive a detailed analysis in my study. I include novels published after 1982 (the date generally considered to be the end of the political transition) because they offer a key hindsight to the period in relation to my analysis. I establish 1986 (the year of the second electoral victory of the PSOE and Spanish membership in NATO) as an end date, in accordance with the view of those critics who argue that, in order to take into account the consolidation of the cultural and literary Transition, we need to extend our focus a few years beyond 1982–see Blanco Aguinaga (2007) or Gómez-Montero (2007). As Juan Ignacio Ferreras argues:

> La transición no equivale a la guerra civil: en ésta, la fecha es clara y contundente, y el quehacer novelesco queda afectado cronológicamente de una manera más o menos exacta; pero para la transición, que a nivel de la conciencia colectiva empezó antes como queda escrito, no pueden establecerse hitos ni fronteras. Por eso, hay que hablar de la novela *en* la transición, y no *de* la transición, porque la transición no califica ningún quehacer novelesco, no lo determina, pero sí lo propicia. (Ferreras 1992: 12).

Tusquets, Roig, Montero and Ortiz were classified as 'novelistas en la transición' in Santos Alonso's *La novela en la transición* (1983). Although these four authors were born in Barcelona (Tusquets and Roig) and Madrid

(Ortiz and Montero), with a 15-year difference between the eldest (Tusquets) and the youngest (Montero), they all share the experience of Francoism, and their literary narratives all reflect similar expectations and disappointments once the dictatorship came to an end. As witnesses of the transitional period, these authors are in-between two realities: one they want to leave behind, and another that is left for them to imagine.

My choice of authors also relates to the fact that, despite the general impression that they have long been part of the canon, they have all been subject to mechanisms of invisibility that kept them in a feminine sub-canon and away from other social, political, and cultural narratives, excluding them from an understanding of the period. I intend to build on the work of scholars before me who aimed to 'incorporar a las autoras españolas en el canon literario universal […], promover así una mayor difusión entre los lectores actuales ... [y] el desarrollo del pensamiento igualitario y el asentamiento de un sistema educativo no sexista en nuestro país,' as expressed in the promotional blurb of Nieva's pivotal work *Narradoras españolas en la Transición política (Textos y contextos)* (2004).

I will not approach the four women authors in my study presuming that they share a 'feminine essence' of any kind; rather, I will pay attention to the ways in which women's self-awareness as writers (or perhaps writers' self-awareness as women) has translated itself into a literary form in their engagement with their socio-political context at a specific place and time. I do not suggest that the topics analysed here are exclusive to the particular authors in my study, but I do attend to the specificity of their experience as women, making gender central to my analysis. And I maintain that, if there

were male authors writing similarly, they would necessarily be doing so for different reasons and from a different perspective.

I shall call into question the standards of value according to which texts have been canonised (or not) and give textual meaning to these novels beyond the interpretation advanced by a particular critical community. In my analysis, I set to explore how these four authors attest to the Transition's *acelerado cambio de valores morales*, in Sanz Villanueva's words, and to question if their attestation is relevant only for women.

I affirm that re-reading these authors as 'testimoniales' is in itself a revision of the literary canon. My analysis leads me to conclude that there was something we might call a post-dictatorial *literatura testimonial* and that such literature puts into question certain aspects which, in problematising the hegemonic representation of the Spanish Transition, are relevant to the construction of our *cultural memory*. By no means will all the novels exemplify every aspect of my analysis in this study, though the majority will.

Taking into account the lack of transmission noted above, I will insist on the importance of re-thinking the Transition and I will do so in consonance with today's counter-hegemonic perspectives. This thesis will contribute to critics' current effort to expand the narratives of the transitional period with a feminist perspective, since I believe that (male) critics still do not succeed in foregrounding gender differences, as I shall explain in what follows.

When we speak about the Transition (a pervasive topic nowadays) we can perceive an ideological polarisation between those who feel the need to shield the hegemonic discourse about it in order to protect its legitimacy and

those who detect in this discourse the undesirable burden of a myth. This applies to the literary field—as Blanco Aguinaga affirms: 'para tratar de la narrativa española contemporánea será siempre necesario seguir la pista de esas dos versiones contrarias de la Transición (versiones que corresponden a dos ideologías) y sus consecuencias, en la realidad social y en los textos literarios' (2007: 385).

Although this dichotomy in interpreting the Spanish Transition has always existed, the dissenting voices have gained strength lately, especially after 2000 for reasons I will explain below when discussing the construction of the *process/discourse*. More and more critics are now compelled to uncover lost narratives and to offer new insights into the narratives at work—the more, the better:

> Es necesario contar historias, en el mejor sentido del término, tener narraciones sobre experiencias y sujetos en los años que van de la decadencia del régimen franquista a la consolidación de las instituciones democráticas que hoy conocemos, y a la aparente consolidación de sus límites. Es necesario contar muchas otras transiciones. Es necesario democratizar los relatos de la transición y multiplicarlos. (Labrador 2010: 9)[11]

[11] Germán Labrador takes his own advice and offers us a beautiful mosaic of a society in transition to democracy, expanding our concept of 'reality': 'hemos olvidado lo que hacíamos mientras tanto. La gente que fundó cooperativas, se manifestó en defensa de derechos democráticos, hizo pintadas, compuso poemas, dibujó, pintó, escribió, pensó colectivamente sobre lo que le estaba ocurriendo, se afilió a partidos políticos y luego entregó su carnet o aún lo mantiene, compró libros de historia, llamó chorizo a un chorizo, se deprimió horriblemente por no encontrar una salida histórica, fue a ver obras de teatro, participó en cineclubes, se fue de viaje a Dinamarca con una mochila, o a Argelia o a Nepal o a la sierra, inscribió a sus hijos en clases de ética en un colegio público, acudió a la universidad cuando tenía sesenta años, arregló una casa en el campo, se dejó el pelo largo, fue encerrada en un manicomio por fumar porros, acudió a las reuniones de su asociación de

There is a current move to 'socialise' the history of the period by turning to 'memory', that is to say, by promoting the empowerment of people's memories. This is what Jerez Novara and Sánchez León set out to do in an excellent collection of interviews entitled *Con la memoria de una república por venir. Conversaciones intergeneracionales sobre identidades antifranquistas y democracia* (2014).

According to the publishing company's website, the volume collects:

> el testimonio de personajes de la cultura española para quienes el imaginario republicano ha servido en su trayectoria política y profesional como un catalizador intelectual y una singular atalaya desde la que observar críticamente los cambios políticos desde la dictadura a la democracia, y la dinámica de la cultura, las artes y las disciplinas académicas. ('Con la memoria'.)

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vecinos, se manifestó en contra de la pertenencia de España a la OTAN, disfrutó con su cuerpo, se fue a una playa nudista, se puso pegatinas en contra de la energía nuclear, tuvo un familiar que murió de heroína, disfrutó con su cuerpo, fue a la cárcel, compró *Ajoblanco*, participó en un grupo de discusión feminista, iba a conciertos de rock, leía poemas y sabía que los estaba leyendo de una forma nueva, le llevó la contraria a un policía, llamó a su hija Libertad, se negó a cumplir el servicio militar obligatorio y sufrió las consecuencias, abrió un bar para poner la música que le gustaba, conquistó el derecho al aborto, salió del armario, se casó por el juzgado, aprendió a cultivar un huerto, disfrutó con su cuerpo, explicó a Rosalía de Castro en gallego en su instituto cuando era alegal, aprendió a trabajar el barro, ayudó a montar las fiestas de su barrio, se negó a votar a la UCD, se negó a votar al PSOE, acabó votando al PSOE, dejó de votarle, murió de sida, abrió una librería, tenía quince años y se manifestó para que construyesen un polideportivo, se vistió como le dio la gana, se liaba a hacer fotos, actuó colectivamente, dijo verdades incómodas, obligó a su familia a prometerle que le incinerarían tras su muerte y no le hicieron caso, iba al ateneo de su barrio, se organizó para hacer que expulsasen a funcionarios corruptos, trabajó democráticamente en su parroquia, montó un grupo de música o una revista, llevó a sus hijos a una manifestación, le expulsaron de la universidad y nunca pidió nada a cambio, ayudaba a transportar panfletos, escribió las canciones que había escuchado a sus abuelos, se negó a venderse cuando tuvo la oportunidad, montó una peña de barrio con sus amigos, denunció los abusos de la autoridad, no obedeció cuando hacerlo era muy fácil, cambió su lengua, abandonó la Iglesia, se fue a vivir al extranjero para siempre porque ya estaba hasta el gorro de este país de todos los demonios donde pobreza y mal gobierno no son tan sólo pobreza y mal gobierno, toda esa gente (cientos de miles, ¿¿¿cuántos???) no siempre es capaz de asociar esos actos con una forma de habitar históricamente el tiempo que va del franquismo hasta hoy, o hasta ninguna parte' (2010: 5 and 7).

Yet, something that goes unmentioned is that of the seven interviewers and fourteen interviewees who participate in the project, not a single one is a woman.

Within the context of these admirable efforts to recuperate and multiply stories, the scarcity of women is problematic (not to say absurd). When women are present, it is not uncommon to see them once again decoupled from the general analysis and confined to a 'feminine' sub-canon, or trapped between parentheses. Although I agree that not every revision of the Transition must be based on a feminist theoretical framework, I would also argue that any attempt to deconstruct the myth of the Transition (in order to bring about political change) must take a feminist perspective into account—is a non-feminist democratising process possible at all?

In the following pages I will point out what I believe are unintentional errors related to gender, which divert these attempts to democratise narratives of the Spanish Transition away from their ultimate objective. Because this thesis does not consist of a critical compilation of the works that are currently re-constructing the period, but rather aims to contribute to such re-construction by addressing some lacunas, I will limit the illustration of these errors to the analysis of one specific work, while also suggesting that such issues can easily be found in other texts (e.g. in Novara and Sánchez's compilation above).

I have selected Germán Labrador's, *Culpables por la literatura. Imaginación política y contracultura en la transición española (1968-1986)*, published in 2017, as the epitome of this ongoing revision of the Transition, and I single it out because I regard it as particularly brilliant.

Germán Labrador is one of the most influential authors dealing with the Transition from a contemporary critical perspective, and his research is essential to an understanding of literature as something consubstantial with the idea and the process of democracy. He sees cultural production as an ideal guide to forming a diagnosis of a period because, he argues, every human experience of a historical event is 'culturalmente articulada' (Labrador 2017: 14). Those of us who grew up after Franco's death were raised, Labrador says, 'como si ya viviésemos en esa democracia que tenemos pendiente' (2017: 10). Being from the same generation, Germán Labrador and I were provided with an institutional account of the Transition that ignored the existence of a powerful civil society. Faced with this story so grounded in myth that it could not but be deceptive, some of our generation felt the obligation to take over the construction of that democracy which is still to be achieved.

In his introduction, Labrador sets out his objectives: 'queremos reconstruir algunas experiencias de la juventud transicional, a partir del surgimiento de una conciencia crítica y de una estética de ruptura, desde la invención de *formas de vida* e instituciones culturales alternativas, y en relación con la politización de lo privado y las luchas civiles del periodo' (Italics in the original. 2017: 25). Although extremely ambitious, the objective of his study is not to completely overhaul the process' discourse as a whole, but to rescue some experiences of the 'juventud transicional' that have often been overlooked—something he succeeds in doing with unusual and much needed rigour and care.

Yet, when later in the book Labrador addresses the potential ways in which his study is not fully representative, he apologises for the 'relativa escasez de mujeres' (2017: 92). Relative to what? He does not specify. 'No

hay muchas [mujeres] en este relato' (2017: 93), Labrador states, but as we keep reading, we find out that this scarcity is in fact a total absence in his analysis: the lives and works of those examined in detail are all those of men.[12]

In cases like this, the flaws in representation cease to be a matter of corpus: the issue goes beyond the fact that only a limited number of authors can be the subject of a particular investigation (which is perfectly legitimate), and poses the problem of universality of the masculine.[13]

Labrador's revisions incorporate aspects of the Transition that have been hitherto ignored or marginalised. Moreover, he does not see these aspects as exceptions, rather he integrates them into the general picture, after asking why they had previously been excluded: 'se trata de pensar la transición desde estas experiencias, produciendo *una nueva mirada—joven, posmetropolitana, interclasista, (pos)feminista—de la transición en su conjunto*' (Italics in the original. Labrador 2017: 96). But how can Labrador claim this new perspective on 'la transición en su conjunto' if he does not include the perspectives, experiences, activities, etc., of a single woman?

The interpretation of statistics makes the universality of the masculine in Labrador's text remarkably clear. In many of his historical revisions, when a difference based on gender is found, the characteristics that apply in the case of men are the ones stated as a general conclusion, and the fact that the result differs in the case of women is seen as an exception. The reason for that

[12] Moreover, counting the names and keywords included in the index—without considering how many times they are mentioned, nor in what capacity—, we can see that 537 of a total of 593 are men and only 56 are women and as I say, none of the latter are the objects of Labrador's analysis.

[13] Let us imagine for a moment a volume of interviews in which the seven interviewers and the fourteen interviewees were all women and the title—instead of being something like *Conversaciones intergeneracionales en femenino*—simply did not have a term referring to that fact. Let us imagine a book of over six hundred pages that dealt with 'la juventud transicional' and was about 'imaginación política y contracultura' in which no attention was paid to any man at all. Can we even imagine it?

difference is superficially described if mentioned at all. This occurs for instance in Labrador's study when he looks into juvenile mortality rates in post-Franco Spain (2017: 155-6) or the number of injecting drug users infected with HIV (2017: 559).

Labrador's revision includes details that make visible some of the perspectives that traditional history has refused to acknowledge, and it invites us to consider diverse issues that have gone unnoticed until now because other things and other people have occupied the foreground. In Labrador's study, we see, for instance, the experience of the *generación sesentayochista* looking for jobs in the midst of the employment crisis of the Transition, and we encounter 'telefonistas, aprendices de publicistas, repartidores de periódicos, pintores de paredes, dueños de bares, conserjes en burdeles, vendedores ambulantes en la noche de sus propias obras insomnes' (2017: 326). Then, 'las mujeres' (2017: 326). We do not know who the women are or what they do, we are only told that 'sus destinos eran más rígidos y los costes de salirse del camino o de quedarse embarazadas eran muy altos' (Labrador 2017: 326). We should have the opportunity to explore their lives, to add images to and expand the limits imposed on our perception of the period by the official discourse, but women are excluded from Labrador's new extended account of the Transition.

Labrador tells us about 'el sujeto', 'el joven', 'el ciudadano', 'el artista' of the Transition who were marginalised, and then, as in a whisper, we hear that '[c]omo siempre, las mujeres tendrán un margen de movimientos aún más restringido' (2017: 390). We manage to picture men one by one, in their particularities; women are shown in a block, which not only gives a false

impression of homogeneity, but also makes them appear by default as passive subjects.

Labrador clarifies that, despite the relative scarcity of women, he does want to address 'las metamorfosis propias de los años setenta, que tuvieron por centro el género y la sexualidad' (2017: 93). He pictures a 'nuevo orden amoroso' that, co-existing with Francoist mores, posed a threat to heteropatriarchy by exploring the space of sexual liberation that emerged within the anarchist counterculture.

Labrador mentions the phenomenon of the 'destape' in passing, referring to the abovementioned *Daniela Astor y la caja negra*, by Marta Sanz, which is indeed an excellent novel, but the fact that this is his only reference gives us the impression that there was no literature written in the period that dealt with the subject. The 'destape' was a controversial topic from the beginning because although, on the one hand, it was linked to the idea of sexual liberation, on the other, it was evident that it objectified and fetishised women's bodies–see Peña Ardid (2015). Many works by female authors, especially by feminist authors, had much to say about the reification of the female body and about sexual liberation—and did actually say it.

When Labrador explores sexual liberation, he does so by focusing on what he calls (with reference to Foucault) the biopolitical analysis of the homosexual—sometimes transvestite—artistic body. He uses the term 'cuerpo biopolítico del franquismo' to refer to a somatisation: the 'in-corporación de la dictadura en lo más propio del ser' (Labrador 2017: 45). When he calls normative sexuality into question, although always respectful and inspiring in his work, he does not address female homosexuality—a classic example of gender invisibility—nor does he situate male

homosexuality (and social homophobia) within the framework of misogyny. I argue that there are certain issues that do require some specific attention to gender.

To end my analysis, besides the general lack of references to female authors—it is enough to take a quick look at the bibliographies in many of these new histories to see that they are absent—I want to highlight the problem that arises when certain debts are not acknowledged.

Labrador examines the problems of representativeness and invisibility, and the relations between the personal and the political, between the private and the public spheres, between aesthetics and morality—but without explicitly mentioning the achievements of feminism. He does not engage with female theorists, while many ideas are credited to men. I understand his aspiration to work within a postfeminist paradigm[14] but the only result of this, comparatively speaking, is a devaluation of feminism and female thinkers.

The process of re-constructing the Transition has prompted a revision of the canon that I find highly motivating. Works as exceptional as that of Germán Labrador provide many tools that are essential not only to an interpretation of the post-Franco years but also to an understanding of the present and to a projection of the future. They denounce and counteract others' efforts to 'salvaguardar una determinada lectura del periodo, interpretando los acontecimientos culturales como transferencia simbólica de trayectos políticos' (Labrador 2017: 391). However, they succumb to a

[14] A postfeminist paradigm would be one that conceives a society that is no longer defined by gender binary and gender roles. Many feminist theorists have highlighted some of the problems of this perspective: in 1990 Teresa de Lauretis argued that '[i]f "woman" is a fiction, a locus of pure difference and resistance to logocentric power, and if there are no women as such, then the very issue of women's oppression would appear to be obsolete and feminism itself would have no reason to exist' (Eagleton, M. 2011: 356).

gender asymmetry which means that they reassess the period, at times, in masculine terms.

Incorporating a gendered perspective is not always relevant, but where gender dynamics are significant, they bring enriching contrasts to an analysis, broadening our understanding of the dynamics of society as a whole of this (or any) period. In any case, becoming aware of perspectives that have been excluded is always an ongoing exercise. The still unaccomplished task of achieving a true democracy is a shared responsibility, and I intend to play my part in the process with this thesis.

I will explain my contributions further as we go through the works of others in my literature review.

ii. Literature review

In my literature review, I comment on academic criticism of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz, taking into account its chronology, as well as the place of publication and the academic environment of the authors. Because I am interested in the importance of transmission and the establishment of the canon, I want to see how much critical attention authors have received in Spain relative to that produced abroad (mainly in the UK and the US).[15]

Generally, the academic criticism is published either by scholars outside of Spain lecturing at universities in the UK and the US or by scholars

[15] Most of the articles, chapters and books came up using two major databases: JSTOR, a digital library founded in 1995 by a former president of Princeton University and Dialnet, a portal of Universidad de La Rioja for Hispanic production in Humanities and Social Sciences created in 2001.

at Spanish universities who contribute to Anglo-Saxon journals or edited volumes. The relative range depends on the author. At one end of the spectrum, we have Roig for whom almost 50% of her criticism has been published in Spain, although most of this is in Catalan and published in Catalan-speaking areas of Spain. At the other end, Tusquets's is the most remarkable case, since only around 10% of her criticism is in Spanish and published in Spain.

The number of male critics dedicated to interpreting the literature of the authors in this study is between 10-20% of the total. This is meaningful in the context of my thesis because I question the importance of the authors' narrative when trying to understand the Spanish transitional process. I examine the presence of these authors in the literary canon of the period and believe that the possible misfunctions between being declared as being part of the canon and yet not having been properly studied as part of our *cultural memory* are caused, as analysed above, by a lack of understanding and the fact that, for decades, the greatest influence in all cultural spheres (including literary criticism) has been male.

In my attempt to enrich the understanding of the socio-political development of the transitional process with the early works of Tusquets, Roig, Montero and Ortiz, I realise that the early critical work that examines the Spanish Transition with scepticism was rarely published in Spain. It is only after 2000 that critics in the country start revising the period as a process to democracy with a re-evaluative purpose and that previous attempts are widely disseminated: 'La transició vers la democràcia és un fenomen relativament recent que només ara comença a ser valorat des de la perspectiva

que atorga el pas del temps'[16] (Francés-Díez 2008a: 239). And only after 2000 do we find an understanding of the ethical relevance of women writers work in Spain, e.g. in José Teruel's recognition of Riera's *Te deix, amor, la mar com a penyora* (1975) and Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* for re-presenting lesbian subjectivity and desire, something which Teruel assesses as

> logros cívicos de nuestras hermanas mayores de la década de 1970, que será necesario recordar frente a otras consecuencias más decepcionantes que siguieron a la Transición, como la mayoritaria alianza de los intelectuales con el poder político en los años adyacentes a 1982. (2013: 183)

Moreover, the contrast made by Teruel between Tusquets's and Riera's work and that of intellectuals aligned with the political power echoes the discussion about the CT explained above.

Critics who are currently revisiting the Transition go back to early works of the period to establish explicit links: in Claire Laffaille's study of Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria*, for instance, she affirms that it is 'una visión temprana que anticipa […] las voces críticas que en la actualidad están revisando los inicios de la Transición' (2015: 76). The fact that Ortiz writes while simultaneously living the process gives the text, according to Laffaille, an exemplary character.

[16] 'The transition to democracy is a relatively recent phenomenon that only now begins to be valued from the perspective given by the passage of time,' my translation.

In what follows, I will highlight some of the commonalities I have found in the criticism of Montero, Ortiz, Roig and Tusquets, namely (1) the reference to the instrumentality of their novels; (2) their description as testimonial literature; and (3) the influence of feminine writing on them. I will then move on to provide a more focused review of each author's criticism, separately.

Some of the articles, chapters and books I have reviewed have an 'instrumental' perspective: they see literature as exemplary, as providing tools for their readers, especially their female readers.

In her analysis of Montero's work, Elena Gascón affirms that Montero's reflection of the situation of women within Spanish culture 'puede llevar a sus lectoras a una concienciación del valor y del poder de su femeneidad como un arma que ellas pueden utilizar para destruir los estereotipos falocráticos que las oprimen' (1987: 74). Also Kristin Kerbavaz examines female authorship within Montero's *Crónica del desamor* and suggests that this authorship presents an opportunity for self-expression not only to the women in the novel, but also, through metafiction, to the women of the real world. Mercedes Juliá opines similarly that Ortiz's *Urraca* is a text which 'permite que las personas, y en el caso de esta novela otras mujeres como Urraca, puedan examinar y entender su pasado para encauzar su presente' (1998: 389).

On the other hand, some critics argue that this understanding is to the detriment of their analysis. Laura Lonsdale notes this tendency in the critiques of Tusquets's first novel and affirms that 'they have in their desire to lionize

or condemn the author in question, been unwilling to tackle the fundamental ambivalence of Tusquets' novel' (2007: 161). Anna Brenes-García disapproves of how authors like Lidia Falcón reproached Roig's *L'hora violeta* as masculinist for perpetuating classical dualities. Brenes-García also objects to the fact that in the collection of essays by Romero, Alberdi, Martínez and Zauner (1987), Roig's novel is rebuked for representing 'middle-class dependent women who cannot solve their romantic conflicts, and so they become nostalgic and hopeless' (Brenes-García 1997: 105), thus giving a bad example for its readers.

In her account of Patricia Gabancho's analysis of Catalan female writing in *La rateta encara escombra l'escaleta, cop d'ull a l'actual literatura catalana de dona*, published in 1982, Eva Legido-Quigley describes how Gabancho advocates educational works able to offer modern and feasible models of independent women to their female readers and resists any failures described in the works analysed in her anthology. I agree with Legido-Quigley's response when she affirms:

> Las obras de nuestras escritoras no constituyen manuales donde lo positivo y negativo del comportamiento de la mujer queda catalogado para ser consumido por las lectoras […] las protagonistas se debaten en situaciones conflictivas, y están lejos de resolverlas de un modo que las satisfaga a ellas mismas. (1995: 356-7)

Whereas the instrumentalist approach of critics is interesting, Legido-Quigley's point is one I will take up. I will further explore this point through reflections across my thesis, arguing that the novels in this study are not exemplary but, through the presentation of conflictive situations and the

representation of alternatives, they contribute to creating in readers a 'fictional emotional imagination' that opposes the inherited National-Catholic one. Eva Illouz uses the term 'fictional emotional imagination' to refer to the cultural patterns shaped by fiction that provide people with collective meanings with which to make sense of their own experiences.

Together with the (non-)exemplary condition, the 'testimonial' is also a feature that is applied to the four authors analysed in this study. It is worth commenting in which sense it is used and how my perspective will differ or agree with the various meanings.

Pilar Bellido explicitly affirms that *Crónica del desamor* '[s]e trata de un libro testimonial' (1992: 254), although she understands 'testimonial' negatively as being linked to a journalistic style: 'detectamos en la novela con demasiada frecuencia rasgos propios del reportaje que marcan negativamente, desde nuestro punto de vista, el desarrollo de la trama' (1992: 254).

Susana Regazzoni seems to understand 'testimonial' in an autobiographical sense, when she highlights the fact that Montero, together with other authors who publish in the late 70s (she mentions Roig, Tusquets, Ortiz and others), is not conditioned by the experience of the Civil War and consequently can write about other topics. Regazzoni affirms that Montero's first two novels–*Crónica del desamor* (1979) and *La función Delta* (1981)– 'representan los típicos ejemplos del género testimonial "feminista" de los años del postfranquismo' (1995: 256). After the publication of her third novel–*Te trataré como a una reina* (1983)–, Regazzoni indicates an evolution: '[Montero] supera la fase testimonial y expresa una búsqueda de invención' (1995: 256). Haydée Ahumada Peña delves more deeply into the

study of this evolution and also discovers in Rosa Montero's first narrative a 'resonancia testimonial'.

Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, in his analysis of Montero's *Crónica del desamor* and Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Ardor guerrero* (1995), explains that he chose these two texts 'no por razones literarias, sino exclusivamente por su valor testimonial' (2007: 111). Both novels take place in 1979, a moment 'en el que todavía no era previsible el rumbo que iban a tomar los acontecimientos' (Neuschäfer 2007: 111). The fact that the critic considers both texts equally testimonial, even though Montero's is contemporary to the plot and Muñoz Molina's was written almost sixteen years later, seems problematical.

Like Neuschäfer, Isabel Giménez Caro explicitly states her interest in the testimonial aspects disregarding the literary value of Lourdes Ortiz's early novels. Following Javier Fornieles, she analyses *Luz de la memoria* as a 'novela de tesis' and emphasises the importance of Ortiz's reflections on 'el pasado que se revive y al mismo tiempo se quiere olvidar y un presente que no se presintió, un presente que pilló desprevenida a toda una generación, a la que sólo–según nuestra autora–le queda el desencanto' (2005: 16). Claire Laffaille also explores Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria* (1976), considering it a novel that speaks 'desde el testimonio y el compromiso personal' (2015: 76). Similarly, Adolf Piquer sees Montserrat Roig as 'una autora preocupada por la dimensión social de la literatura' (2012:116).

In her book *La voz testimonial en Montserrat Roig: estudio cultural de los textos* (1996), Dupláa takes a different standpoint, placing Roig as part of a decolonising process and framing the author's texts under the theoretical framework of the testimonial genre, traditionally related to Latin America.

Dupláa establishes that Roig's contribution consists in showing 'cómo la *marginalidad* y *periferia* de la voz testimonial se halla presente en culturas europeas que han sufrido imposiciones lingüísticas y culturales de nacionalidades vecinas o bien […] han sido condenadas al genocidio real y/o simbólico' (Italics in the original. 1996a: 13). Dupláa refers to 'novelas testimoniales' specifically when she examines *Rafael Vidiella, l'aventura de la revolució* (1974), *Els catalans als camps nazis* (1977), *Mi viaje al bloqueo* (1982) y *L'agulla daurada* (1985). However, she considers all of Roig's texts 'auténticos testimonios de esa España de los años setenta y ochenta, donde lo que finalmente estaba en tela de juicio era la relación dialéctica entre memoria y olvido' (1996a: 12).

For Sara Brenneis, in both *Els catalans* and *L'hora violeta*, Roig questions 'the reliability of historical documentation and testimony' and examines 'the role of the historian in communicating and transforming the past' (2009: 672). Therefore, Brenneis says, Roig wants to influence the ways in which the phenomenon of memory is approached in future discourse. Àngels Francés-Díez also refers to Roig's intentionality, 'testimonial i de denúncia', arguing that Roig's final objective is to 'recuperar la paraula de dona silenciada al llarg de la història oficial i fer-la ressonar en un present encara dolorós'[17] (2003: 129).

In the case of Esther Tusquets, Estrella Cibreiro highlights the fact that, while the author's treatment of private feminine issues creates psychological depth and an intimate approach to the existential problem, her incidental exploration of those external realities that have a direct impact on the

[17] '[A] testimony and a denunciation […] to recover the woman's word silenced throughout the official history and make it echo in a still painful present,' my translation.

woman's condition 'ofrece un testimonio indirecto del entorno social de la España actual' (2001: 581). I do not see that exploration of external realities as incidental, but rather as decisive in the course of the narrative.

My own concept of *literatura testimonial*, according to the abovementioned definition of 'autores testimoniales' by Vázquez-Montalbán, is related to the transformative power of literature, thus I will examine the impact that the topics in the works of Roig, Montero, Tusquets and Ortiz have on society as a whole. I talk about 'literatura testimonial' rather than 'autores testimoniales' because, although I shall at times address the intentionality of the authors, the main analysis will fall on the way their literary narratives respond to both personal and social needs of the period.

I do not refer to a journalistic style, like Bellido, nor am I interested in the autobiographical, like Regazzoni; rather, I pick up on Duplaá's understanding of the 'testimonial' in relation to the narratives' construction of a collective voice. I will make a distinction between a metonymical and a metaphorical voice and, insisting on the authors' personal commitment highlighted by Laffaille (for Ortiz) or Piquer (for Roig), I will not only examine the moral connotations of their recovery of the silenced and marginalised stories excluded from the hegemonic discourse, but also their connections with today's discussions on history and memory.

I agree with Giménez's appraisal of Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria* for its testimonial value, which I also prioritise in my study, but it goes without saying that the stylistic value of most of the novels in this study is unquestionable. It is interesting to note that, even though *Urraca* is the most studied of Ortiz's novels, the critics do not consider it to be testimonial. The fact that it is historical appears to explain why. In my conception of

testimonial literature, however, *Urraca* can also be approached from a testimonial perspective due to the connections the novel establishes with the present and the capacity of an individual voice (Urraca's) to represent the collective (women). Moreover, Dupláa's questioning of the dialectic relation between memory and forgetting in Roig's texts is one of the keys of Ortiz's *Urraca*, thus my interpretation of the novel beyond the historical context of the plot.

The third common aspect highlighted by the critics when analysing the works of the authors studied here is their relation with the theory of *l'écriture feminine*, a very fertile trend treated by Elizabeth J. Ordóñez in 1987. Despite some theoretical problems, *l'écriture féminine* has become a powerful concept for contemporary women writers. Akiko Tsuchiya argues that in Spain, those who emerged 'as an internationally visible group in the last decade and a half after the end of Franco's dictatorship, are among those who have appropriated this concept and entered into dialogue with the French feminists' (1992: 185).

Tsuchiya dedicates an article to analysing Esther Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*, one of the novels that, in her opinion, most self-consciously engages in an investigation of French feminists' ideas of writing. The self-conscious narrator in the novel, according to the critic, constructs a 'feminine text' which allows Tusquets to bring to the fore 'the theoretical issues that are central to the feminist debate on *l'écriture féminine*' (Tsuchiya 1992: 196). Biruté Ciplijauskaité (1994) explains that, due to the publication date of *El mismo mar*, it is only natural that Tusquets's anonymous narrator replicates Hélène Cixous's theory, beginning with the need to write. More recently, Laura Lonsdale mentions some of the features of Cixous's *écriture*

féminine which are most pertinent to a discussion of Tusquets (2007: 161) and argues that the novel has a 'clear aspiration […] towards a specifically feminine mode of communication' (2007: 165).

Many critics have sought to align the narrative style of *El mismo mar*, as well as its narrator's own metalinguistic and metatextual soliloquy, with this conceptualisation of *l'écriture feminine*. M. J. Marr (2004), however, tries to counter-argue those readings in her article on Tusquets, examined below.

In her book *La voz testimonial en Montserrat Roig*, Dupláa dedicates the second chapter to the representation of everyday life through a feminine perspective, recovering a feminine voice. Roig's objective, Dupláa argues, is to 'defender la existencia de una subjetividad femenina: es decir, la existencia de hablar en primera persona' (1996a: 77). In this sense, Francés-Díez also mentions Roig's 'exploració de la cadència femenina'[18] (2003: 130).

In her article 'Rosa Montero ante la escritura femenina' (1987), Elena Gascón Vera studies Rosa Montero's first three novels and, although she admits the impossibility of affirming a direct influence, the critic concludes that the novelist's discourse can be analysed considering some aspects of Cixous's theories. Focusing on the 'autoafirmación del discurso autoral femenino', Shirley Montero, for her part, suggests that the aim of *Crónica del desamor* is 'esa búsqueda para encontrar el lugar de lo femenino en la sociedad' (2006: 46). In a similar fashion, Kerbavaz examines Montero's *Crónica del desamor* considering female authorship and proposes that '[l]a escritura femenina, como la presenta Montero, les da a las mujeres de la

[18] '[E]xploration of a feminine cadence,' my translation.

novela la subjetividad que les ha robado tradicionalmente el patriarcado' (2015: 61).

Early on, Lourdes Ortiz's *Urraca* also received a considerable critical attention focused on its feminist content and, particularly, on its relationship to French feminists' theories of *l'écriture feminine*: Ciplijauskaité (1988), Ordóñez (1991), Ballesteros (1994). Other critics, such as Antonio Sánchez (2007) and Daniela Flesler (2008), however, have emphasised that this focus on gender has obscured other valuable aspects of the novel like its representation of the multicultural Iberian peninsular medieval past.

Other feminist approaches engage with other theories, such as Elaine Showalter's gynocritics, the basis of Nuria Sánchez Villadangos's analysis of women's memory and identity in Ortiz's work.

Incorporating enquiries into *écriture féminine* or producing a 'gynoptic re-vision' (Stanley 2014: 5) of the male canon are important in the analysis of the novels in my study. I agree with Maureen Stanley when she describes a 'new gynoptic (intertextual or archetypal) narrative' as a way of rewriting that '1) discerns the fact that and the manner in which accepted and known tales are presented through a masculine-biased lens; 2) underscores its crippling effects on the feminine psyche; and, finally, 3) provides a new and authentic way of seeing as Woman' (Stanley 2014: 5). These analyses do indeed provide a context and a logic behind them from a feminist perspective. On the other hand, the categorisation of feminine writing risks not only essentialising women, but also as argued above, pigeonholing female writers. To avoid these counter-productive effects, I consider a wider socio-political context and combine gender with other elements of analysis.

I will review now the criticism dedicated to Montero, Ortiz, Roig and Tusquets respectively. It is not my aim here to cover every study on the authors but rather to show the main tendencies of critics approaching their fictional work, focusing especially on the early novels and pausing at times to explain my own views in (dis)agreement.

Beginning with Montero, the first thing to mention is that in her official website, an up-to-date complete bibliography, based on the research of Alicia Mesonero-Ramos, is available.[19] Looking at the critical work, we can see two main problematics that most interest critics: on the one hand, Montero's exploration of human nature and, on the other, her feminist perspective. Let us begin with the humanist approach.

Montero is the first of the four authors analysed here to receive attention in a monographic study. In *La primera narrativa de Rosa Montero* (1983), Emilio de Miguel tackles *Crónica del desamor* (1979) and *La función Delta* (1981), the only two novels that had been published to date. He does so from both a thematic and a formal perspective and in detail. Through the universality of the characters, each being at the same time unique and akin, according to de Miguel, the critic starts exploring the topic of death in Montero's narrative, thus enquiring into the characters' human nature. Unlike other critics who consider the influence of Montero's journalistic style in her novels to be negative (see, e.g. Bellido 1992), de Miguel refers to the difficulty of including her first novels in the strict moulds of a genre as an enriching contribution to contemporary narrative. Twenty years later, in her article 'Rosa Montero: cronista de la desilusión' (2004), María Claudia

[19] Check: https://www.rosamontero.es/pdf/Bibliografia_Completa_Rosa_Montero.pdf

Albarrán focuses on *Crónica del desamor*'s lack of structure, qualifying it, like de Miguel, as one of its strengths as the novel builds its significance on the integration of a series of seemingly unconnected fragments. In this early work, de Miguel considers that Montero's fiction does not leave the reader indifferent and, believing that her upcoming novels will follow the same path, potentially places the author within the Spanish literary canon.

By 1992, *Te trataré como a una reina* (1983), *Amado Amo* (1988) and *Temblor* (1990) had also been published, and with only five novels Montero was, as Pilar Bellido argues in 'Rosa Montero. De la realidad a la ficción' (1992), one of the best-selling and best-known authors of the last generation of Spanish novelists. In her article, Bellido already perceives an evolution in Montero's style: 'un progresivo abandono del experimentalismo de los años anteriores que es sustituido por una narración desnuda' (1992: 252) and comments on both the structural complexity and the characters' construction. About the characters, Bellido remarks on 'el fondo humano que poseen' (1992: 264), again pointing at Montero's focus on human nature.

It is worth noticing that in Bellido's article, we find a critics' commonplace not exclusive to the analysis of Montero, but applicable also to the other authors in this study. While their work is judged to lack a 'social' perspective–'La mayor parte de las novelas atienden a la problemática relación del individuo con su medio, casi nunca desde una perspectiva social, sino psicológica, cotidiana e individual,' says Bellido (1992: 251)–, their characters (especially female characters) are seen as composing a collective subject–'Los personajes femeninos no están individualizados de tan idénticos, más bien forman parte de un personaje colectivo' (1992: 254). I will argue in my thesis alongside critics such as Dupláa in her analysis of

Roig, that this way of reflecting the collective through the multiple voices of individual characters does itself actually constitute a social perspective.

After publishing an article on Montero's male characters (1992a), Alma Amell focuses on what she sees as 'una trayectoria de introspección en el "dolorido sentir" del ser humano' (1992b: 74) in Montero's novels. Amell appreciates in the novels a full image of the human marginalisation occurring in contemporary Madrid and appraises the way these novels force the readers into a progressive process of identification with those people living in the margins.

Amongst the critics that focus on the human transcendence of Montero's work, we also find Javier Escudero Cuevas. In his article 'La presencia del "no ser" en la narrativa de Rosa Montero' (1999), he explicitly opposes his humanist perspective to a feminist critique, despite agreeing with most of the main issues highlighted as constituting Montero's feminist agenda–i.e. the condemnation of sexism, phallocentric discourse, male violence, erotic repression, labour inequality affecting women and communication difficulties between the sexes. Aligning with Alma Amell, Emilio de Miguel and Kathleen Glenn in her study of the novel *Temblor*, Escudero Cuevas contributes to their views on death in Montero with 'una concentrada atención a los aspectos físicos de esa actitud ante la muerte' (1999: 24). According to the critic, an intense metaphysical obsession 'con la idea del no-ser–de una muerte que se hace presente como decadencia, corrupción o excremento–' (1999: 24) unifies Montero's work from beginning to end, constituting her predominant theme.

In Escudero Rodríguez's book *La narrativa de Rosa Montero: hacia una ética de la esperanza* (2005), Montero is again detached from the ranks

of feminism and judged as an intellectual and writer whose ethics fosters narrative spaces for metaphysical meditation. But, unlike Escudero Cuevas, who sees in the work of Montero a thematic evolution from social problems specific to historical circumstances to existential and timeless themes, Escudero Rodríguez notices in Montero, from her first two novels, the birth of a narrative voice that, while reflecting on Spain's incipient democratic society, makes a transcendent meditation on the meaning of existence.

This humanist approach has contributed much to the analysis of Montero's work, inserting it in a wider trend led by authors like Unamuno. However, my interest in her early narrative and my own feminist perspective make me pick up on the feminist approach, the other most common tendency within Montero's criticism.

Elena Gascón Vera was the first to approach Rosa Montero from a feminist perspective in her 1987 article 'Rosa Montero ante la escritura femenina,' where she reviews French feminist theories on female literary discourse. She studies Rosa Montero's first three novels–*Crónica del desamor, La función Delta* and *Te trataré como a una reina* (1983)–under the theses developed by Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, Monique Wittig and, in particular, by Hélène Cixous. One of the aspects highlighted in the article is the resonation of Montero's male characters (who are unable to understand women's problems) with the image of men as women's antagonists given by these French feminists (especially Wittig). According to Gascón, Montero pictures women who are trapped in their traditional gender role and, conscious of the need to 'crear un discurso femenino individual que sea cúmulo de las nuevas situaciones en las que se encuentra la mujer española' (Gascón 1987: 74), the novelist attempts to show liberating alternatives. In

doing so, Gascón sees Montero as a pioneer in stating 'la obligación de crear un nuevo canon literario en donde, como aspiran las feministas francesas, haya una verdadera igualdad entre el discurso del hombre y el de la mujer' (Gascón 1987: 74). As I already mentioned, this feminine canon was indeed established and a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of it soon arose amongst Spanish female writers.

Similarly, Shirley Montero Rodríguez establishes the possibility of discovering a place for literature written by women, exploring elements proper to the feminine space, with their own world perspective and circumstances in life, in 'La autoría femenina y la construcción de la identidad en *Crónica del desamor* de Rosa Montero' (2006). Firstly, she analyses the marginalised space that women had occupied in Spain due to the morality rules established under Franco's dictatorship. Secondly, and following the theories of Irigaray and Gilbert and Gubar, Montero Rodríguez discusses how woman has been a subject spoken of and not a subject who speaks, therefore placing the feminine subject in a position of crisis. In this sense, she affirms that 'Rosa Montero plantea en su novela esa búsqueda para encontrar el lugar de lo femenino en la sociedad' (Montero Rodríguez 2006: 46). According to Montero Rodríguez, it is through her female characters, 'sujetos que oscilan entre la tradición y las nuevas propuestas éticas' (2006: 46), that Montero is able to reinforce a female author's discourse dedicated to 'la búsqueda interna de su propio "yo" (no el impuesto por el patriarcado), y externa, de su lugar dentro de la estructura social' (2006: 52).

Susanna Regazzoni, in a chapter titled 'Escritoras españolas hoy: Rosa Montero y Nuria Amat' (1995), inserts Montero and Amat in a group of writers (Tusquets, Roig and Ortiz, amongst others) who begin to publish at

the end of the 1970s. Regazzoni had previously conducted a book of interviews in 1984 with Tusquets, Roig, Amat and Montero, authors whom she considers the most representative writers of what she calls 'the generation of 70'. In her article, Regazzoni seems to understand the contribution of Montero and the others strictly in terms of gender and at an autobiographical level: 'escriben de mujeres cuyas historias están marcadas–por lo menos al principio–por coordenadas espacio-temporales que se relacionan con las experiencias personales de las autoras' (1995: 254), a perspective not uncommon in other critics.

Haydée Ahumada Peña analyses in her book *Poder y género en la narrativa de Rosa Montero* (1999) Montero's seven novels published until then, describing the author as one of the most popular writers amongst readers. The critic extends the view on gender by relating it to power and, based on some works by Michel Foucault, argues that Montero manages to reveal the subtlety of domain structures in the construction of identities, especially when thinking about men and women in their social roles. Like Regazzoni, Ahumada also describes Montero's narrative as autobiographical but perceives an evolution to wider discursive forms, underlining the prominence of metafiction, irony and the grotesque in her later novels.

In her article 'Amor y desamor en Rosa Montero: de la crónica a la novela' (1999), Emilia Velasco Marcos explores the view that Ana, the protagonist of *Crónica del desamor*, has on love as a universal theme while inscribing it in the specific space-time context of Montero's writing. The critic describes the novel as 'novela de rebelión', following Biruté Ciplijauskaité's classification in her book *La novela femenina contemporánea (1970-1985)*, but she agrees with Catherine Davies when

categorising Montero's feminism as not radical but hetero, socialist, and political.

In his article '1979: La Transición como crisis de orientación (en la perspectiva de Rosa Montero y de Antonio Muñoz Molina)' (2007), Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer constrasts Montero's *Crónica del desamor* with Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Ardor guerrero* in relation to their perspectives: feminine and masculine, respectively. Neuschäfer arrives at a similar conclusion to Velasco's (and Davies's) in relation to the non-radicalism of Montero's feminism, affirming that 'las mujeres *no* tienen aún una clara idea de su propio valor y de lo que les va a esperar en la 'otra' ribera de la transición' (Italics in the original. 2007: 114). I find particularly interesting his description of the novel as 'un discurso *contra-Francis*' (Italics in the original. Neuschäfer 2007: 115)–referring to a most popular radio show dedicated to giving advice to the loverlorn (a 'consultorio sentimental'), but in his conclusion Neuschäfer reduces Montero's novels to a very specific readership: 'un público femenino, madrileño y culto,' excluding the rest without further arguments. Apparently to men in general, women outside Madrid or without higher education, 'un texto como *Crónica del desamor* no llegaba; y si hubiera llegado, difícilmente hubiese sido aceptado' (Neuschäfer 2007: 115). Neuschäfer's argument is not verified in anyway, moreover, the novel's attestable success both at the time of its publication and thirty years later (as the author expresses in the prologue[20]) can be seen as a sign of the opposite. Disregarding the discussion on readership, I argue that *Crónica*,

[20] In the prologue of the reprint in 2010 of *Crónica del desamor*, Rosa Montero explains that in the 2008 Madrid Book Fair 'decenas de lectores me pidieron la *Crónica*. Algunos eran de mi edad y ya la habían leído; pero la mayoría eran chicos y chicas veinteañeros que la venían buscando porque sus padres les habían hablado de la novela' (2010:12).

together with other novels analysed in this study, created a *sentimental counter-education* (*contra-Francis*) that implicated society as a whole and which remains pertinent nowadays.

Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst and Rodrigo Pardo Fernández take a sociocritical standpoint, enhanced by the contributions of the feminist critique in their article 'Hacia una lectura sociocrítica de *La función delta* y *Te trataré como a una reina*, de Rosa Montero' (2013). The second and third novels published by Montero are their object of analysis, where they explore the literary representations of love, sexuality and gender examining the process of reconfiguration and re-reading of established love discourse patterns. Their conclusion is meaningful to my own analysis, when they affirm that Montero's female characters and their fictional relations are 'construcciones significativas, comprensivas, de las relaciones entre los seres humanos (igualmente configuradas por los signos)', adding that 'su lectura y comprensión, por tanto, es una lectura del mundo' (Moszczyńska-Dürst and Pardo 2013: 391). Sharing this perspective on the transcendence of the portrayal of the characters' relations, I will analyse Montero's *Crónica del desamor*, Tusquets's *El mismo mar* and Roig's *L'hora violeta* in Chapter Three.

Kristin Kerbavaz analyses the experiences of female characters in the novel, who find themselves silenced in professional, familial, and sexual situations. In 'La lengua de Margarita: el silencio impuesto y la escritura activista en *Crónica del desamor*' (2015), Kerbavaz affirms that '*Crónica* tiene un propósito social, un rol de activista. […] Las personajes escriben para crear un nuevo espacio femenino en el discurso nacional' (Kerbavaz 2015: 60). As a post-2000 critique, Kerbavaz argues that '[a]unque el cambio

democrático […] ha marchado hacia arriba, las mujeres no están a bordo' (2015: 56) and perceives Montero's characters as the medium to reveal the hidden and negative realities of the Transition and hypocritical sexual liberation, as they express their desire for change. Quoting Catherine Davies, Kerbavaz concludes that 'a través de las acciones de sus personajes, Montero ofrece la oportunidad de "assess and reshape" la experiencia femenina española' (2015: 64). Extending the analysis, I will argue not that women were not on board when democratic change happened but rather that this change is not effectively possible without women and that Montero and the other authors in my study 'assess and reshape' not only the feminine experience but the transitional experience as a whole.

The approach in my thesis when analysing Rosa Montero's early novels is to build on the feminist tendency–rather than on the humanist one–, excluding the need of creating a feminine canon argued in the earlier analyses–e.g. Gascón (1987), Regazzoni (1995), but still delving into the experiences of female characters and their love and sexual relations, as relevant to the transitional period.

I will explore heterosexual relations in terms of power, picking up on Ahumada but, beyond the construction of identities on which she focuses, I will dig into the Francoist sentimental education and its impact on the characters' social experiences. Agreeing with Gascón's interpretation of the antagonising relationship between men and women in Montero's novels, I will comment on how not only female characters are portrayed as victims of National-Catholicism, but also male ones in my analysis of *Crónica del desamor* in Chapter Three.

As regards Ortiz, apart from some brief incursions in the 80s (see, e.g. Morales 1986), it was not until the 90s that academic studies of her narrative were published. Amongst her first novels, *Urraca* (1982) is the one which has received most of the attention.

The historical reign of Urraca had not attracted the curiosity of historians or left much trace in official history until 1982, when this disinterest was finally broken by Bernard Reilly's *The Kingdom of Castilla-Leon under Queen Urraca*, whose publication coincided with the publication of Ortiz's novel.

The tendencies in the analyses of Ortiz's *Urraca* may be summarised as a feminist perspective and the study of the relation between history and fiction, often interlaced–unlike humanism and feminism, the two main critical approaches when analysing Montero's work, which were often exclusive. We can also find studies of *Urraca* from a historiographic viewpoint which, while interesting, are not too relevant from a literary perspective.

In 1993, Nina L. Molinaro wrote an article comparing Pizarnik's *La condesa sangrienta* and Ortiz's *Urraca* and their female protagonists' reauthorisation of history. Molinaro argues that Urraca, while unambiguously claiming the genre of the novel, seeks to expose 'the gendered limitations and interests of the historical chronicle' (1993: 46). Foucault's theories of power are significant to Molinaro's discussion, inasmuch as power is understood as being essentially discursive and thus connected to the production of truth and knowledge; however, Molinaro establishes a correlation between power and gender that Foucault would never concede because 'in his formulation,' as Molinaro clarifies, 'power relations constitute subjects, rather than the inverse' (1993: 47). The critic interprets gender as a site of resistance and,

acknowledging that both power and resistance are mediated through language, Molinaro reaches the conclusion that, in rewriting history, both Erzsebet (Pizarnik's protagonist) and Urraca become agents and victims, mediating history and resistance similarly. A similar viewpoint is found in Mercedes Rodríguez Pequeño's article (2000) in which she compares *Urraca* with *En el umbral de la hoguera* by Josefina Molina or in Patricia Riosalido's chapter, 'La ruptura de la imagen de la historiografía oficial de Urraca y de Elisabeth de Austria-Hungría en las novelas *Urraca* de Lourdes Ortiz y *Elisabeth, emperatriz de Austria-Hungría o el hada maldita* de Ángeles Caso' (2014).

Ángeles Encinar (1994) compares the fictional characters and events in Ortiz's *Urraca* with the historical documents (all information in her article's footnote 14) and concludes that 'la novelista ha asumido la meta de un historiador al haber sido capaz de recrear una realidad extra-textual' (1994: 88). Ortiz, however, overcomes the Manichean tendency that prevails in chronicles which blame Urraca or consider her a victim, so that in the novel, according to Encinar, '[e]l papel de Urraca mujer se enfoca con una visión actual de reivindicación feminista' (1994: 96). This explains, for instance, how Urraca's sexual lust, often alluded to negatively by historians, is tackled by Ortiz differently, making it contingent on the reinvention of historical events.

Encinar is one of the first critics to relate *Urraca* to the postmodern concept of metafiction described as 'un modo de plantear que la historia y la realidad, a semejanza del mundo ficticio, son algo provisional y ambiguo' (1994: 95), referencing Patricia Waugh. This perspective mainly linked to theorists such as Linda Hutcheon and Hayden White, will become

commonplace in the analyses of *Urraca*, as we will see below in Rivera Villegas (1997), Mercedes Juliá (1998), Gurski (1999), Mazquiarán de Rodríguez (2001) and McGovern (2004).

Carmen M. Rivera (1997) includes the novel in what Rita Felski, in *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change* (1989), calls 'feminist self-discovery narrative'. Combining Felski's notion of self-discovery narrative with Linda Hutcheon's historiographic metafiction, Rivera reads *Urraca* in a triple transgression: 'escribirá su historia sin ser autorizada para ello, alterará sin pedir permiso las reglas de la escritura histórica y privilegiará sus experiencias eróticas como fuentes de poder y conocimiento' (1997: 311). The article links self-discovery with the act of writing as a process that opposes the totalising reduction imposed to women by patriarchal culture. Rivera includes Ortiz in a group of female writers who, 'aunque presentan en sus textos diferentes mundos sociales y familiares, coinciden en la reconstrucción de un tiempo pasado a la luz de sus necesidades presentes' (1997: 307). Rivera is therefore affirming the needs of Ortiz's herself, when she discusses the main features in *Urraca*: 'el deseo patente de la protagonista de integrarse a la esfera pública de la sociedad en que vive […] y el constante reto intelectual que promueve para ofrecer visiones radicales sobre los valores y las instituciones dominantes' (1997: 307).

In terms of transgression, Mercedes Juliá (1998) argues that *Urraca* is 'no sólo medio para llegar al conocimiento de un personaje histórico en su entorno, sino invitación igualmente a cuestionar la historia oficial, creando una nueva historicidad' (1998: 377). Ortiz's main focus, according to Juliá, is Urraca rather than her context: the novelist creates an ambiguous character,

enriching the novel's interpretation. This explains Juliá's description of *Urraca* as postmodern, given that 'la novela postmoderna lega la interpretación a cada lector' (1998: 379). Paying attention to the author's intentionality, Juliá affirms that Ortiz restores the queen's power by a double ploy: 'la reina, que es personaje histórico y literario al mismo tiempo, escribe una crónica que pertenece a la historia, y que acaba siendo la novela' (1998: 380). The success of the novel, in Juliá's reading, is due to the readers' identification with the protagonist's conflict, i.e. Urraca's performance of the two opposing gender roles translated into the relation between (masculine) power and (feminine) love. What interests me though is the questioning of the binary system, and the strictly gendered roles, rather than Urraca's possibility of playing both.

Edward T. Gurski (1999) follows Hayden White's work *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* to examine Urraca's ambivalence: her struggle to decide what kind of history she needs or wants to write and her own personal reflections about this interior conflict. Gurski brings together elements of analysis we have already found in other articles–e.g. Rivera Villegas (1997), Mercedes Juliá (1998)–and concludes that Urraca's 'metahistorical musings function structurally and thematically as a metaphor for her personal quest for self-discovery' (1999: 171).

In a comparative study, after Brian McHale's *Postmodernist Fiction*, Mercedes Mazquiarán de Rodríguez analyses Ortiz's *Urraca* alongside Antonio Gala's *El manuscrito carmesí* (1990) and Almudena de Arteaga's *La Princesa de Eboli* (1998) in her article 'In Their Own Voices: Autobiography as Historiographic Metafiction in Three Recent Spanish Novels' (2001). On Linda Hutcheon's premise that both history and fiction are discourses,

Mazquiarán argues that these three novels adopt a postmodernist perspective in order to question the truth of the official history of Spain and subvert its canonical pre-eminence. While others insist on Ortiz's fidelity regarding historical facts, Mazquiarán describes the author as a postmodernist writer entitled to use history in a selective fashion to construct plots, thus 'manipulating and turning around the recorded truth' (2001: 100). The critic's conclusion seems a bit far-fetched, connecting the success of the novels in terms of readership with the fact that '[t]he postmodern approach in these current Spanish historiographic narratives also frees "the other" from political repression, as is the case with female and gay sexuality, and other aspects of religious and cultural otherness' (Mazquiarán 2001: 111).

Josemi Lorenzo Arribas's article 'Discurso literario versus relato historiográfico: *Urraca* de Lourdes Ortiz' (2004) combines the historiographic and the feminist perspectives: the article questions the nature of 'historical romance' and the reasons for its editorial boom in contrast with historians' contempt for it. It also reflects on how Ortiz rehabilitates Urraca, a historical female character, generally scorned by historiography.

Some studies written from a historiographic viewpoint refer to the correspondence between the novel and the real medieval literary and historical context. This is the case of Antonio Uribe Sánchez's 'Una crónica medieval moderna: *Urraca* de Lourdes Ortiz' (1995), whose questions seem to me futile from a literary viewpoint. Uribe expresses some difficulties in his analysis of the novel–amongst others, the lack of typographical distinction between the words of the narrator and the protagonist's words or thoughts–and needs to remind himself of the fictional (not historical) nature of the text.

Despite the literary intricacies he finds, Uribe regards Urraca as an unconventional novel that, with a few exceptions, is true to historical fact.

Antonio Sánchez (2007) sheds a new light on the novel as he develops a critique of the ideological manipulation of the past which characterised Francoist National-Catholic historiography, through an analysis of Ortiz's historical novel. Sánchez focuses on Urraca's positive depiction of Spain's multicultural history which, according to him, 'not only constitutes a rejection of the homogenous past constructed by National-Catholic historiography, but also relates directly to the heterogeneity of contemporary society' (2007: 180-81).

Daniela Flesler (2008) also explores the representation of the multicultural Iberian peninsular medieval past and its relation to Ortiz's present. In this sense, Flesler affirms that 'podemos leer esta novela "histórica" como una reflexión sobre el presente de su escritura, en un momento de gran esperanza sobre las posibilidades de diálogo que permite la apertura democrática' (2008: 603). Flesler's reading of *Urraca* presents the (Re)conquest of Toledo in 1096 (understood as an approach to Christian Europe) and the process of Europeanisation of Spain in the eighties as interrelated instances. For the eleventh century Christian clergy, Europe meant an affiliation to Rome as the see of Christianity; for the anti-Franco movements and the first governments of the Spanish Transition, Europe symbolised democratic values and social and economic progress. For Flesler, *Urraca* 'se construye como una novela que tiene por uno de sus temas fundamentales el lamento por la pérdida de la diversidad étnica medieval' (2008: 608): the protagonist laments the fact that social heterogeneity has decreased during her lifetime. In her deathbed Urraca fantasises about a truly

heterogenous society, remembering Al-Andalus and, according to Flesler, 'esta fantasía sobre el fin de la represión sexual, política, cultural, religiosa [que] resuena fuertemente en la España post-franquista' (2008: 619). This conclusion has resemblances with Mazquiarán's and Sánchez's, commented above.

In this sense, Safiya Maouelainin (2016) engages with Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, as well as with other concepts like metafiction and subjectivity, and the connection made by Foucault between discourse, power and truth from a feminist perspective. Interestingly, she proposes to reveal 'las consecuencias que tiene el discurso de un personaje medieval, Urraca, sobre el desarrollo de su propio poder y sobre la percepción que el lector contemporáneo tiene de la verdad así representada' (Maouelainin 2016: 484). Her conclusions, however, are not as interesting or revealing: namely, that language is 'subjetivo y a veces engañoso' and that discourse 'cambia según el receptor' (2016: 490). Unfortunately, several other articles are similarly derivative, such as Carmen María López López's 'Doña Urraca no tiene quien le escriba: El género cronístico en femenino en la obra de Lourdes Ortiz' (2017), a text whose bibliography only includes Ortiz's novel.

Although I am not interested in classifying (or not) Ortiz's *Urraca* as postmodern, I also engage with postmodern theories about the writing of history which are contemporary to the novel. In Chapter One, I will analyse *Urraca* as well as Roig's *L'hora violeta* as 'historiographic metafictions' (Linda Hutcheon's term), paying special attention to the need for memorial transmission constantly expressed by their female protagonists.

I will describe Ortiz's *Urraca* as a historical/literary project that reflects both on the past from the present and on the present from the past. Encinar's

article contributes with a perspective that is most relevant to my analysis. According to Encinar, the novel 'no restringe su visión a la persona de la reina castellana y de su época, sino que transmite sus intereses y problemas y los expande en consonancia a una realidad contemporánea' (1994: 88). Unlike the conclusions of Flesler, Mazquiarán and Sánchez, commented above, my arguments, while emphasising the connections with the present, do not necessarily establish a parallelism between the historical past depicted by the narrator and the author's present, but they point out the potential impact that the narrator's reflections have in society in relation to the *process/discourse* of the Spanish Transition. Encinar argues that the novel's leitmotiv is lust for power, observing in the novel a current reflection on the struggle to obtain power as the main goal for some individuals. I will build on Encinar's argument, seeing this lust of power specifically related to the transitional process.

I will also tackle Urraca's struggle to decide the kind of history she is writing, analysed by Gurski, by digging into the distinction between 'political history' and 'sensory memory'–one that Joan Ramón Resina makes in his theorisation of Spain's transitional tensions between memory and forgetting, further explained in Chapter One. I will interpret Urraca's recollection of the practices of private experience as politically revealing, as the prominent themes of love and sex make Urraca comparable to other women, creating a collective voice.

While *Urraca* have been widely studied, Ortiz's other fictional texts are relatively unexplored, except in monographic books like the one published in 2001 by Alicia Giralt, *Innovaciones y tradiciones en la novelística de Lourdes Ortiz*, or Lynn Ann McGovern's *Contando historias: las primeras novelas de*

Lourdes Ortiz (2004). Lynn Ann McGovern studies Ortiz's first five novels: *Luz de la memoria* (1976), *Picadura mortal* (1979), *En días como estos* (1981), *Urraca* (1982), and *Arcángeles* (1986). Favouring a postmodern socio-cultural contextualisation, she affirms that 'las mujeres están escribiendo sobre mujeres como nunca se había hecho' (2004: 27). Paradoxically, three out of the five novels analysed in McGovern's study have male protagonists. McGovern's interest is based on an appreciation of the profound richness of Ortiz's prose, which contrasts with Giménez's dismissal and her appraisal of Ortiz's novels solely for their testimonial value seen above.

After writing her thesis on 'Historia, cultura y vida en la obra novelística de Lourdes Ortiz. Perspectiva literaria feminista' (2012), Nuria Sánchez Villadangos published *Mujer y memoria en las novelas de Lourdes Ortiz* (2013). Based on Elaine Showalter's 'gynocritics', she studies memory and identity in Ortiz's novels. Each novel demands, as she explains, a different approach. *Luz de la memoria*, for instance, does not (re)present the female experience or the female struggle, but rather presents, according to Sánchez, a greater social and political commitment, more interested in human conflicts. Presenting a clear distinction between the female and the social experience, Sánchez seems to perpetuate the impression that a female protagonist talks about women while a male protagonist talks about human nature. I argue, however, that the interrogation of female experiences shows no less of a social and political commitment and do mean dealing with human conflicts.

Claire Laffaille's 'Los vencidos de la transición en *Luz de la memoria*' (2015) is one of the very few contributions dedicated exclusively to the

analysis of Ortiz's first published novel. In the novel, Ortiz presents the rapidly frustrated hopes of those young people who had to build an idea of Spain's future once the dictatorship was over. Laffaille argues that, as these characters abandon their ideals and anti-Francoist struggle, they become are for Ortiz 'los primeros vencidos o los derrotados "avant la lettre" de la Transición' (2015: 80). This is precisely how I intend to approach the novel in Chapter Two, arguing that Ortiz and the other authors in this study soon expressed this defeat, also echoing the division of Spanish society established after the Civil War between winners and losers

Turning now to the revision of Roig's criticism, we observe that the critical studies on her narrative, that grew in number since her death in 1991, can be divided into two distinct tendencies: the criticism that establishes a connection between her work and the narrative written in Spanish, and the criticism that approaches the author and her work within a Catalan context. I will review both but in my own reading I am not interested in including her in either one or the other tradition, but rather in exploring the subjectivities revealed in her work in order to illuminate the socio-political context common to the authors in my study.

Withing the Spanish context, one of the first studies on Roig is Catherine C. Bellver's well-known article 'Montserrat Roig and the Penelope Syndrome' (1987). In it, Bellver tackles a distinguishing feature of the female personality as it is presented in Roig's novels, i.e. total surrender to love: 'Her women both feed on love and are consumed by it' (1987: 111). It is not the theme of love itself, Bellver continues, but 'those subordinate themes implying its loss or failure' (1987: 111), something that we can also find in

Montero's *Crónica del desamor* or Tusquets's *El mismo mar*, as I shall argue in Chapter Three. In contrast, men's identity is related to their professional achievements or their involvement in political activities rather than to their relationship to women. Catherine Bellver refers to this gendered condition in terms of psychological differences, using Carol Gilligan's terms in her book *In a Different Voice*: 'Gilligan says the women's world view is founded on relationships and the preservation of them, while the male viewpoint tends toward isolation and separation' (Bellver 1987: 112). Bellver's main point is that, like the ancient Penelope, 'all of Roig's women, no matter their historical context, are subjected to the same destiny of waiting' (1987: 114).

Love–the core of Chapter Three in this thesis–is further analysed by, e.g. Legido-Quigley (1995) and Moszczyńska-Dürst (2013). Many other aspects of Roig's work have been studied—e.g. female friendship in Cornejo (1999-2000) and maternal conflicts in Fages (2007). However, most critical attention has focused on Roig's questioning of official history and her work on memory.

Applying Eric Hobsbawm's notion of invented traditions to Franco's dictatorship, Carmiña Palerm analyses Roig's *El temps de les cireres* as a kind of subversive historiography. In 'Memory, writing and the city in Montserrat Roig's *Tiempo de cerezas*' (2004), the critic focuses on how Roig's writing depicts the losers, concretely the Catalans, women and workers and exposes that this depiction works against the Francoist monumental, heroic history. Roig's representation of different voices without giving priority to one over another conveys Maurice Halbwachs's notion of 'collective memory', according to Palerm. While Natàlia's family have 'opted to immerse themselves into different forms of collective forgetting

through modernization, mass consumption, speed and material fetishes' (Palerm 2004: 166), Natàlia reconstructs lost political spaces, opening up the possibility of a new political consciousness.

Andrew J. Deiser, in his article 'Monserrat Roig's *El Temps de les cireres*: a nostalgic look at the past' (2006), offers a socio-historical reading of Roig's novel focusing on photography and time as motifs that serve not only to document social changes prior to publication of the novel but to 'address the broader historical shift from modernity to postmodernity in Catalan and, by extension, Spanish society' (2006: 70). The critic attentively examines certain scenes of the novel, arguing that Roig's chronicle of these specific moments (e.g. the students' movement at university or the phenomenon of mass immigration to Catalunya between 1950 and the early 1970s) make them 'significant event[s] during the lead up to Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy' (Deiser 2006: 71), alluding to their consequences during the 1980s and 90s. For Deiser, the motif of Photography in *El temps* serves Roig (through the novel's protagonist, Natàlia) to recover the more remote past because '[m]etaphorically speaking, the object she views through the camera is history' (2006: 72).

Sara Brenneis (2009) focuses on *Els catalans als camps nazis* and *L'hora violeta*, two texts rarely analysed together despite their interrelation: *Els catalans als camps nazis* interrupts the narrative of *L'hora violeta*. In between the Catalan and the Spanish tradition, both texts 'demonstrate', in Brenneis's words, 'the profound impact Roig has had on the re-imagining of a Catalan identity in post-Franco Spain' (2009: 669). Since 'all historical writing is subject to interpretation and manipulation' (2009: 669), the only difference between both texts is the freedom that Roig had, in the case of

L'hora violeta and not of *Els catalans*, 'to create and play within the framework of historical context' (2009: 669). *L'hora violeta* adds a human dimension to the real-life experiences of the same deportees that are the source of *Els catalans*; the novel is, Brenneis argues, 'history made personal' (2009: 671). Coinciding with Palerm, Brenneis concludes that the overlapping points between Roig's historical investigation and her emotional response to her subject matter result 'in a destabilization of Spain's once-monolithic official history to reflect the Catalan experience at the margins of society' (2009: 672).

Also in between the Spanish and the Catalan traditions, Eva Legido-Quigley defines Roig as a Catalan woman writer, but inserts her work within 'la novelística española contemporánea escrita por mujeres' (1995: 352). In 'La reivindicación del sentimiento amoroso en las novelas de cuatro escritoras catalanas contemporáneas' (1995), the critic highlights some common features of this contemporary Spanish novel. For example, the fact that the novels' background refers to three essential moments in the history of Spain: Civil War, Dictatorship and post-Francoism—thus differing from Regazzoni (1995) when she affirms that the Civil War is no longer a topic for them—and that the authors adopt a personal perspective, not interested in reflecting aspects of the society of their time. Approaching the novels in this study on the now-classic premise that the personal is political, I will argue against Legido-Quigley's separation expressed in this last point. My point is that through a personal perspective, the authors do reflect aspects of the society of their time that transcend themselves, moreover, that are key to understanding the transitional process in Spain.

Moving now to those critics that study Roig within the Catalan context, we need to start with Christina Dupláa. Dupláa began to write about Roig in the mid-nineties and she has been a scholar of reference until the present day. In her early article 'Veus, testimonis i diferència a la narrativa de Montserrat Roig' (1994), she already mentions some of her main arguments about Roig's work developed in her book *La voz testimonial en Montserrat Roig*. Dupláa's approach influenced many critics, moreover, some explicitly express their intention to continue her work—e.g. Picornell (2002).

Dupláa understands Roig's combination of history and literature as a way to explore ethical formulas to explain an aesthetic transformation in which the invisible prevails over the visible. The connection between ethics and aesthetics will be further analysed by other critics (see Anne Charlon 2001). According to Dupláa, Roig's literary work is a committed intellectual work that claims for minorities 'el derecho a la diferencia' (1996a: 39): Roig is inclined to difference feminism, emphasising the need not only to 'pensar en femenino' but also 'pensar lo femenino'. Dupláa's reading of Roig's feminism differs from Catherine Davies's argument that neither Montero nor Roig had a connection with 'feminismo de la diferencia' or 'radical feminism'.

Dupláa discusses the presence of a 'voz-testigo' able to reconstruct the forgotten past of the marginalised, writing as an act of resistance, and points out that, through fragmentation, Roig manages to convey an explicit acceptance of plurality and to suggest the presence of the collective. To speak for a marginalised or peripheral community is part of a decolonising process that associates Roig with other Latin-American women whose testimonies preceded her. Dupláa continued to be dedicated to Roig's work and wrote

many more articles and chapters (see Dupláa 1996b, 1996c, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2005).

As mentioned above, Mercè Picornell (2002), follows Dupláa's work and also explores the testimonial genre in the works of another Catalan woman writer, Teresa Pàmies. In the prologue of Picornell's book titled 'El discurs testimonial: memòria compromesa, pràctica lectora, creació crítica,' Margalida Pons affirms that Roig's and Pàmies's texts raise similar doubts: 'quin grau de representativitat té la veu del testimoni? […] És possible erigir-se metonímicament en consciència d'un grup?' [21] (Picornell 2002: 6). Picornell shows, according to Pons, that Postcolonial studies can be fruitfully applied to Catalan literature, giving the example of 'la noció de "discurs dels vençuts" com a versió col·lectiva, i en certa manera anònima, de la realitat'[22] (Picornell 2002: 13).

Picornell's book is divided in two parts: in the first one, 'politics and poetics of testimony', the author considers how a testimonial discourse works, as part of what she calls 'factographic genres', by establishing a 'testimonial pact' that, engaging the collective, rewrites 'la memòria col·lectiva d'una comunitat'[23] (Picornell 2002: 36)–Laffaille argues that Ortiz establishes a similar pact in *Luz de la memoria*. In the second part, Picornell argues that Catalonia in the 70s was suitable for the creation and reception of certain texts as testimonials, analysing Roig as an intellectual who presents

[21] 'To what extent does the voice in a testimony represent others? […] Is it possible to metonymically become the conscience of a group?', my translation.
[22] 'The notion of "discourse of the losers" as a collective version, somehow anonymous, of reality,' my translation.
[23] 'It reinscribes the collective memory of a community,' my translation.

the memory of the defeated as a mediator, turning it into a collective testimony able to rewrite history.

Brenes-García (1997)defines Roig as the best-known contemporary Catalan woman writer, famous for representing feminism and Marxism in Catalonia during the 1970s and 80s and for her devotion to the recovery of the Catalan past, arguing that '[t]he relevance of her work is understood by seeing how Catalonia's language and History were oppressed during the four decades of Francisco Franco's dictatorship' (1997:101). Brenes-García introduces the creation of a herstory,[24] affirming that Roig, one of the few women 'leading the democratic process' (1997: 102), rescues the national past of the Catalan community and does it from a woman's perspective. *L'hora violeta* illustrates this as it shows the perception women had of historical events from the private realm of home rather than 'the implications those events had in the main discourse in power' (Brenes-García 1997: 103). Brenes-García's study focuses on Judit's diary, whose importance, she says, 'comes from the fact that women used to write (and still do) in their diaries what they did not dare confess in public' (1997: 106), thus making women's experiences, which were generally silenced, meaningful in the public space.

Àngels Francés-Díez has dedicated her attention to Montserrat Roig from a feminist perspective, first, in a series of articles and then, in her PhD thesis from which her book *Montserrat Roig: feminisme, memòria i testimoni* (2012) came out. In 'La represa de la paraula: influència del feminisme en la

[24] The term *herstory* is a pun with the word 'history' understood not etymologically but as 'his story', coined as part of the feminist movement to criticise the masculine perspective of conventional historiography. It is used to tell history written from a feminist perspective, emphasising the role of women, or told from a woman's point of view. Women-centered presses, such as Virago Press, spread the term in the early 1970s and it can be easily found today in different types of publications.

literatura catalana actual'(2003), Francés-Díez examines how feminism affected some of the writers who started publishing in Catalan in the sixties, and focuses on Maria Aurèlia Capmany and Montserrat Roig as pioneers of the movement. In 'La reivindicació del jo autorial femení: les escriptores catalanes dels setanta' (2008), Francés-Díez argues that those female writers who broke into the Catalan cultural scene in the 70s felt like the orphans of a feminine literary tradition whereas nowadays, authors like Montserrat Roig or Maria Mercè Marçal '[h]an esdevingut mares literàries, autoritat femenina'[25] (Francés-Díez 2008a: 251).

Francés-Díez explores female intimate writing in two articles. In 2005, Francés-Díez contributed to an edited volume with 'Fragments i dones: cartes en la narrativa de Montserrat Roig', in which she studies the use of the epistle as narrative strategy in Roig's work. After highlighting some of the epistle's characteristics, the critic affirms that letters written by female characters work 'como espai on personalitats fragmentàries intenten retrobar un jo unitari i integrat'[26] (Francés-Díez 2005: 386). This is further argued in 'Retrobar la mare: l'ús del diari en *L'hora violeta*, de Montserrat Roig' (2007), where Francés-Díez tackles, like Brenes-García, the use of the diary in Roig's *L'hora violeta,* as part of 'un procés de recuperació de veus silenciades per la història a través de textos autobiogràfics, fragmentats i escindits com els mateixos subjectes que els produeixen'[27] (2007: 389). According to the critic,

[25] '[They] have become literary mothers, feminine authorities,' my translation.
[26] '[A]s a space where fragmented personalities try to retrieve a unitary and integrated self,' my translation.
[27] '[A] process of recovering voices silenced by history through autobiographical texts, as fragmented and split as those same subjects that produce them,' my translation.

these subjects are necessarily fragmented as parts of the community to which they belong.

Angie Simonis analyses Roig's *L'hora violeta* from a different perspective in her contribution to an edited volume on lesbian cultures in Catalonia, 'Victimisme i palimpsest lesbià a la narrativa de Carme Riera i Montserrat Roig' (2011). The critic sees an unconsummated lesbian story in the intimate relation between Judit and Kati, and affirms that it constitutes 'el germen de la inquietud política i identitària com a dones' (Simonis 2001: 113-4) of both characters. Interpreting Roig's novels as feminist (rather than lesbian) novels, Simonis concludes that 'són novelles de dones que contenen reivindicacions lesbianes, sense tractar central-ment el lesbianisme, i que aquest, és el palimpsest d'un lesbianisme positiu elaborat amb exquisida subtilesa i mestratge' (2001: 117).[28]

Adolf Piquer Vidal dedicates a chapter to Roig in his book, *Narrativa Catalana. Discurso y Sociedad En La Literatura del Siglo XX* (2012), portraying Roig as paradigmatic of the transitional period. Through Roig's characters, Piquer argues, we can get to the bottom of the Catalan society of those years. According to Piquer, activism on the political left, cultural Catalanism, feminist bonds, with all the contradictions that these issues inevitable entail, undoubtedly influenced Roig's production and are part of the 'formación sentimental' (Piquer 2012: 117) of her characters. Agreeing with Piquer in this last point, it is my view that the authors in this study (and their characters) do not only receive a sentimental education, but also create

[28] 'They are novels of women which contain lesbian claims, without centrally addressing lesbianism, and that this is the palimpsest of a positive lesbianism made with exquisite subtlety and mastery,' my translation.

an alternative one in opposition to the inherited one, as I will argue in Chapter Three.

I will analyse the subordination of women to men, which Bellver highlights in Roig's *L'hora violeta*, not as psychological female/male traits but as consequences of the subjectivisation of men and women under the dictatorship. Bellver highlights the fact that the lives of Roig's female characters are inevitably affected by the actions of men, but while she affirms that women thrive on interpersonal relationships, I will argue that it is actually men who do, exploiting women's love power. This exploitation is reflected in Roig's *L'hora violeta* as well as in Montero's *Crónica del desamor* and Tusquets's *El mismo mar*–examined in Chapter Three–as a power imbalance.

Engaging with the contributions of these critics to the discussion of memory and history in Roig's early novels, especially those of Palerm and Brenneis, I will approach the matter in ethical terms, in line with the movement for the recovery of historical memory that emerged in Spain after 2000. I will argue that, according to Roig and contrary to what the hegemonic discourse of the Transition repeated, remembering is no less than an imperative of justice. I will go beyond Palerm's analysis of the act of forgetting in Natàlia's family in *El temps de les cireres*, differentiating her father's process of 'reconciliation' (in Chapter Two) and her brother's reaction as 'borradura ideológica' (in Chapter Three).

Unlike Dupláa and Picornell, I do not take a Postcolonial perspective but picking up on some concepts theorised by Doris Sommer in her analysis of Latin American female testimonies, such as the metonymical voice–similar to what Pons mentions in the prologue–, I will affirm, in Chapter Two, that the metonymical representation of the collective in my novels differs from

the metaphorical representation of society in the *process/discourse* of the Transition. Concurring with Picornell's view of Roig as a mediator able to turn the memory of the defeated into a collective testimony, thus rewriting history, I will argue similarly about the other authors in my study.

In her analysis of the diaries' fragments in *L'hora violeta*, Brenes-García suggests that the narrator conveys how women in the 20s and 30s, like those in the 70s, tried to break the patriarchal models imposed upon them. In Chapter One, reflecting on the confession, I will show the intention of the authors in my study to build bridges with that moment of women's liberation in the 20s and 30s, and I will underline the significance for today's feminist battles. I will also note a parallelism between the need that women writers in exile had to remember the Republic's emancipatory projects even if they failed, with the need of the authors in this study for a similar transmission. Although Brenes-García's proclamation of Roig as a leader of the democratic process seems an overstatement, especially considering the hegemonic discourse of the Spanish Transition, I believe that Roig certainly contributed to imagining democracy through her novels.

Finally, let us move on to the revision of the critical work on Esther Tusquets. The publication of Esther Tusquets's trilogy—*El mismo mar de todos los veranos* (1978), *El amor es un juego solitario* (1979), *Varada tras el último naufragio* (1980)—was an event in post-dictatorial Spain and the author was greeted as a true pioneer, 'pues hasta *El mismo mar* no se había indagado—en la literatura española—de forma tan abierta y sugerente en la sexualidad libre y gozosa de la mujer' (Parau 2017: 146-7). The first novel, in particular, is considered 'en el panorama de la cultura y, más

concretamente, en el ámbito de las letras catalanas femeninas, una auténtica revolución' (Toribio 2017: 87).

There have been divergent opinions and critical responses to Tusquets's first novel–which, on the other hand, do not question the literary value of its prose–and they have been expressed passionately: we find 'lyricized celebrations of her work as a profound, unfettered and subversive expression of femininity and feminine love' as well as 'angry dismissals of it as "profoundly conservative" and even "masculinist"' (Lonsdale 2007: 160).[29] In the words of Manuel Villalba, '[p]ocas novelas como esta despiertan opiniones tan encontradas. Se trata de un texto que, o bien fascina, o bien desagrada profundamente' (2008: 236). Besides the narrative's semantic richness at multiple levels, the ending is one of the main reasons for these disparate opinions about the novel. A review of the critical bibliography offers a good sample of this polysemy and outlines prevailing themes and perspectives: they talk about the female identity and experience, the presence of psychoanalysis, the re-writing of myths and fairy tales and lesbian desire in the work of Tusquets.

With respect to the female experience, attentive as they were to contemporary Spanish female writers, scholars such as Geraldine C. Nichols or Elizabeth J. Ordóñez published critical pieces on Tusquets as early as 1984. Catherine C. Bellver, also in 1984, addressed one of the aspects of Tusquets's narrative that was considered more innovative: female eroticism. In 'The

[29] Arguably, Lonsdale is referring to Ángel Valbuena-Briones when she talks about the most celebrative critical responses to Tusquets's novels–see his 'lyricized' articles on Tusquets's work e.g. Valbuena-Briones (1992), (1995)–; for instance, in 'El mismo mar de todos los veranos: Una novela postmodernista' (1993), written with Elías Ahuja, the critics define the novel as postmodernist, subversive, contradictory and ambiguous, concluding that, with it, '[s]e ha realizado una valoración joyceana de la sociedad catalana' (Valbuena-Briones and Ahuja 1993: 70).

Language of Eroticism in the Novels of Esther Tusquets' (1984), she explains the importance of the novel by the fact that eroticism could be found in Spanish literature written by men, but scarcely in women authors: 'Tusquets' novels thus contribute to the gradual liberation of Spanish literature, and, by defining female sexuality from a feminine point of view, she broadens the usual conception of eroticism in Spanish literature' (Bellver 1984: 14). Bellver analyses Tusquets's female erotic images and symbols (in contrast to male ones) that, not always alluding to sex, allow the creation of a sensuous atmosphere. While Tusquets depicts the phallus as a symbol of male domination, representing the destructive aspect of sex, she weaves erotic images together, Bellver argues, 'to form a positive vision of female erotic energy' (1984: 25). The critic sees Tusquets's use of female eroticism not as an end, but rather as a means to freedom and self-affirmation. This distinction between male and female eroticism will be particularly relevant in the reading of the scene in which the protagonist has sex with her ex-husband, because those critics who do not differentiate between this sexual encounter and the ones the two female protagonists have, are often those who see the novel's ending as 'masculinist'.

Robert C. Manteiga (1988), talks about 'un lento pero eficaz despertar de la conciencia femenina en las letras españolas' (1988: 22). According to Manteiga, Tusquets is interested in bringing to light women's inner problematic, rather than in exploring socio-political aspects that determine the role of women. Considering the personal and the socio-political as mutually exclusive is, once again, commonplace for many critics when talking about the authors in this study, something that I counter-argue in my thesis.

Women in post-dictatorial Spain became more and more aware of their physical and emotional needs and this is also why, according to Manteiga, 'el tema de la sexualidad y el del placer ocuparán un lugar bien destacado en las obras de estas nuevas escritoras' (1988: 22). For Manteiga, *El mismo mar*'s transcendental value resides in being the first novel to put forward 'el tema de la ambigüedad sexual, cuestión considerada tabú por la sociedad española durante muchos años' (1988: 30). I will talk about sexual fluidity rather than ambiguity in my analysis of the novel in Chapter Three.

Mary S. Vásquez emphasises love, rather than sex, as 'the unifying aspect of female experience and its central metaphor' (1988: 18). According to the critic, heterosexual relationships are portrayed as 'problematical at best' (1988: 18), an assertion that could be applied to the majority of the novels analysed in my study. Yet, Vásquez understands heterosexuality as being inevitably linked to the Catalan bourgeoisie in Tusquets, thus love between Elia and Clara, the two female protagonists, may present an alternative to 'the entrapment of man and woman alike in the self-serving, yet surely self-defeating, power plays imposed by the "raza de enanos" on its members' (1988:19)–'raza de enanos' is how the narrator and protagonist calls the Catalan bourgeoisie.

Mary S. Vásquez also edited the first, critical text devoted exclusively to Tusquets's fiction: *The sea of becoming: approaches to the fiction of Esther Tusquets* (1991), a collection of ten essays, one interview, and an annotated bibliography. Nina L. Molinaro also wrote a short monograph on Tusquets: *Foucault, feminism, and power: reading Esther Tusquets* (1991). According to Molinaro, Tusquets's novels provide the necessary discursive structure to simultaneously produce and resist 'masculine truth'.

Continuing with the analysis of the female experience in Tusquets, French feminists' ideas of writing come into play in Akiko Tsuchiya's article 'Theorizing the Feminine: Esther Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* and Hélène Cixous's "écriture feminine"' (1992). Although the critic presents Tusquets as a subject of history who perpetuates the same patriarchal oppression of which she is a victim, she sees a deconstruction of masculine myths and archetypes in the novelist's manipulation of language. Tsuchiya does not intend to essentialise femininity, she says, because that would lead to an erasure of differences and hierarchies among women, but she insists that Tusquets's narrator 'constructs a "feminine text",' bringing to the fore 'the theoretical issues that are central to the feminist debate on *écriture féminine*' (1992: 196). We find similar arguments in 'Esther Tusquets y la escritura femenina,' Biruté Ciplijauskaité's chapter for Francisco Rico's *Historia y crítica de la literatura española* (1992).

Tusquets is often analysed alongside other writers, such as Ana María Moix– see Sánchez de la Calle (1998) and Kingery (2001)–, or Lidia Jorge– see Talbot (2001)–, Ana María Matute–see Soliño (2005)–, Reinaldo Arenas– see Lirot (2002)–, Laforet and Moix–see Santamaría (2017)–, and others. Estrella Cibreiro establishes a correlation between Tusquets and Martín Gaite in '*El mismo mar de todos los veranos* y *Nubosidad variable*: hacia la consolidación de una identidad femenina propia y discursiva' (2000-2001). She offers a double reading of both novels exploring, on one hand, their treatment of private feminine issues and, on the other, their representation of contemporary Spain. Cibreiro affirms, however, that both perspectives are interconnected and that the creation of a feminine identity is not possible without one or the other–a premise I take in my own analysis. Through their

introspection, Tusquets's and Martín Gaite's novels recreate an intimist atmosphere that allows them to get closer to the complex psychological, sexual and social configuration of the feminine identity. Also, they expose 'los obstáculos sociales' (Cibreiro 2000: 600) and 'restos de estructuras patriarcales' (Cibreiro 2000: 601) that make such ontological search of the feminine identity more difficult.

Agustín Boyer (1993) also examines Tusquets alongside Martín Gaite but choosing different novels, *Para no volver* and *El cuarto de atrás*, proposing an analysis of 'el proceso por el que se van configurando simultáneamente la ilusión del verosímil de un Yo-enunciador femenino, la cultura en que se inscribe, y el texto que como espacio de mediación negocia la relación entre ambos' (1993: 92). For Boyer, Tusquets's and Martín Gaite's novels reflect an existential conflict between culture and the individual: while culture creates a coherent, closed and hierarchically superior symbolic system, the individual is formulated as a subversive alternative of the system's consistency. In such dialectic–inevitably anchored to post-Franco Spain according to Boyer's analysis–, 'se delimitan los márgenes, se define y concreta el "Yo"' (Boyer 1993: 92).

Manuel J. Villalba (2008) also focuses on the coherence created by a text, though in this case referring to the one created by the critics. Following Terry Eagleton in his *Literary Theory*, Villalba criticises the critical method that builds interpretations on those discursive elements that allow the text to be presented as a coherent whole; on the contrary, he argues 'el texto puede sintetizarse en sus zonas de fricción internas: contradicciones, paradojas y ambigüedades' (2008: 235). Emphasising its contradictions and paradoxes,

Villalba analyses the representation of the feminine consciousness in Tusquets's *El mismo mar*.

Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst (2013) applies the sociocritical theory and employs notions of Illouz and Kristeva to define love and identity (and their interactions) as depicted in Tusquets's novels, to explore dominant discourses and cultural models in her narrative and to determine if these texts reflect an unaccomplished transition. For Moszczyńska-Dürst, Tusquets's novels can be seen as 'paradigmas de las narraciones *femeninas* en el proceso de transición' (Emphasis added. 2013: 25). The emphasised word illustrates the sub-canon whose existence I argued above. Agreeing with Moszczyńska-Dürst's appreciation of Tusquets's narrative as paradigmatic, I will approach the works of the authors in my study as paradigmatic not only of feminine transitional narratives, but of the narratives of the Transition as a whole. Moszczyńska-Dürst continues by saying that Tusquets's novels are also 'una suerte de comentario crítico acerca del carácter cultural e ideológico de las narraciones amorosas e identitarias' (Emphasis added. 2013: 25)–an argument I will buid on, not only applied to Tusquets's novels but to those of the other authors in my study, as part of my analysis in Chapter Three.

In contrast to those critics who find approaches related to feminine writing fruitful with respect to the analysis of Tusquet's novels, we find others who argue the opposite. In 'Mapping the Space of Self: Cartography and the Narrative Act in Esther Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*' (2004), M. J. Marr explicitly tries to counter-argue those readings of Tusquets that relate her first novel with *écriture feminine*. Quoting 'Le Rire de la Méduse,' Marr uses Cixous's idea of the feminine textual body which assumes 'the metaphorical form of wandering' to affirm that Tusquets's

novel, as a narrative speech act, does the opposite. For Marr, what the narrator does is 'to define spatially, to map as it were, the here-and-now of her own condition, the geography of the self y *sus circunstancias*' (Italics in the original. 2004: 367). Marr calls Tusquets's narration a 'cartographic' project that runs against Cixous's imperative to truly feminine writing: a drive toward detachment from an imposed condition. Marr concludes that '*El mismo mar*'s tendency to dwell in the finite space(s) of the past necessarily works against those readings of the novel which have sought to align its features with Cixous' theories regarding the inherently "detached" and "wandering" feminine text' (2004: 230).

In her chapter 'Feminism and Form: Reading for Ambiguity in Esther Tusquets' *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*', Laura Lonsdale argues that, although Tusquets's first novel displays a considerable aspiration towards feminine writing, it founders when it is identified as 'feminist', thus as 'subversive'. Lonsdale invites us to a more creative reading: 'Formal readings which supply questions, and political readings which do not demand answers, are surely the key to such reading' (2007: 174). In 'The Space of Politics: Nation, Gender, Language and Class in Esther Tusquets' Narrative' (2010), Lonsdale insists that 'the interpretation of Tusquets' work as either paradigmatically feminist or as fundamentally masculinist […] has been unproductive in a number of ways' (2010: 246). Lonsdale sees gender as an isolated interpreting factor in the work of critics who analyse Tusquets, something that cuts the novelist off 'from the socio-historical context which frames and informs her writing both contextually and formally' (2010: 245).

In her reading, Lonsdale combines gender with other concrete cultural and political factors and experiences, i.e. nationality, and class, exploring the

ways in which Tusquets's writing negotiates the politics of the cultural field in Catalonia. Although writing in Spanish is for Tusquets a spontaneous, politically unmotivated choice, 'this has become a contentious political issue' (Lonsdale 2010: 248). Lonsdale argues that 'the negotiation of space in Tusquets' writing expresses a particularly fraught notion of "belonging," specifically associated with class as well as gender, which is suggestive when read in the context of the cultural and political history of Catalonia' (2010: 251).

As I said before, Tusquets has also been studied from a queer and lesbian perspective. In her book *La salida del armario. Lecturas desde la otra acera: Esther Tusquets, Carme Riera, Sylvia Molloy, Cristina Peri Rosi* (2005), Inmaculada Pertusa-Seva considers the works of these authors that were published in Spain very shortly after the democratic transition. She analyses Esther Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*, Carme Riera's 'Te dejo, amor, en prenda el mar' and 'Y pongo por testigo a las gaviotas' (in their Spanish translation), Sylvia Molloy's *En breve cárcel* and Cristina Peri Rossi's poetry collection *Lingüística general*, with the greatest emphasis being placed on the first two texts. According to Pertusa-Seva, society's negative representations of lesbianism have been internalised by the protagonists of the analysed works and they offer images of the sea in an attempt to naturalise their lesbian realities. Pertusa-Seva also finds that the characters simultaneously reveal and conceal their reality since, in their desire to create a new safe space where they can be with their female partners, the characters often end up recreating the closet.

In 'Representación del lesbianismo en la narrativa de la transición democrática' (2013), José Teruel assesses the ideological consequences of the

representation of the lesbian body and desire in Riera's *Te deix, amor, la mar com a penyora* and Tusquets's *El mismo mar*. Apart from the undoubted aesthetic interest of Tusquets's narrative project–which Teruel compares to the European modernist novel by Proust or Woolf–, *El mismo mar* also has, according to the critic, the ethical merit of linking the representation of lesbian desire to a critique of the Catalan bourgeoisie and its value system (the 'raza de enanos' which Vásquez mentioned in her analysis).

Ellinor Broman analyses queer intertextuality and the representation of the lesbian main characters in *El mismo mar*, exploring the use of metaphors traditionally related to homosexual culture in Spain in her M.A. dissertation (2012). Broman argues that the novel intertextually embraces strategies common to lesbian narratives and concludes that the novel voices a critique of compulsory heterosexuality, offering lesbian desire, love and sexuality as alternatives to the dominant sexual paradigm represented in Spanish literature at the time.

Elizabeth Gunn (2014) exposes the idea of a 'queer temporality' related to the lack of a linear narrative and translated in 'a remembrance specific to lesbian subjectivity and its deferred desire' (2014: 261). Opposing the vision of Tusquets's 'mapping' exposed by Marr in the article analysed above, Gunn describes Tusquets's narrator as a 'wandering narrative voice' (2014: 263) who understands that subjectivity is a process of signification. Through an analysis of Judith Butler's reading of Foucault's theories, Gunn shows that, while hetero-normativity is composed of a series of preconceived narratives, the lesbian encounter does not have a pre-produced ritual and this lack of conventional mainstream narratives makes timing different. In Tusquets's first novel, lesbian subjectivity is working itself out and the process can be

read, according to Gunn, 'as an understanding and a critique of the fallacy of complete sexual subjectivity as promulgated by the Francoist regime, and by (hetero)sexism in general' (2014: 275).

Another aspect of Tusquets's narrative that has interested academics is the use of myths and fairy tales. Linda G. Levine follows the theories of Judith Fetterley–whose theory of the 'resisting reader' I apply to Ortiz's *Urraca*– and Adrienne Rich in her article 'Reading, Rereading, Misreading and Rewriting the Male Canon: The Narrative Web of Esther Tusquets's Trilogy' (1987). On the premise that we are not condemned to become what we read but are also empowered to 'resist', subvert and revise the literary canon, Levine argues that 'Tusquets' protagonist becomes a 'resisting' reader 'capable of discerning the ways in which she has been forced into complicity with a male tradition antagonistic to her individuality as woman' (1987: 204). Although the narrator in Tusquets's novel, according to Levine, does not rewrite traditional myths and fairy tales, 'she at least recognizes the futility of the mermaid's search and tries to extract herself from its spell' (1987: 205). Abounding in the abovementioned instrumentality of the novels, Levine concludes that Tusquets's trilogy 'creates a new mirror for her readers and the author herself becomes a possible precursor and muse for women authors seeking freedom from the male canon' (1987: 215).

In contradistinction to Levine, Rosalía Cornejo Parriego sees Tusquets's novel as a 're-escritura feminizadora de la mitología' (1995: 51). Cornejo's purpose is to analyse the mythological rewriting of *El mismo mar* and how it is an expression of certain postmodern postulates as well as of theories about the cultural construction of sexual identity. The final objective of *El mismo mar*, Cornejo argues, is to 'exponer la esencial teatralidad de toda

identidad' which in turn confirms 'la naturaleza discursiva y lingüística del sujeto' (1995: 56). Following Butler's conception of sexual identity as gender, Cornejo examines the use of rites by Tusquets as 'la construcción de una coherencia para ocultar "the gender discontinuities". Se configura, así, lo que Butler llama "the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence"' (1995: 57). Cornejo laments the fact that Tusquets's representations in *El mismo mar* are not a feasible space for successful lesbian relations although she keeps in her reading 'el carácter atrevido y desafiante' of the novel, visible in its 'capacidad de interrogar y des-centrar al lector heterosexual' (1995: 60), as it puts in question the rigid heteropatriarchal sexual categorisations.

Dorothy Odartey-Wellington compares the novels written by Tusquets and Martín Gaite (2000) and argues that the presence of fairy tales 'no es meramente accidental, sino que forma una parte intrínseca de la urdimbre narrativa de las mismas' (2000: 531). Fairy tales offer, according to Odartey-Wellington, two characterisations for women: evil mother or good fairy. The critic speaks of 'matrofobia' in the novels because those women who are in *loco matris* are found 'dentro del marco del patriarcado como partidaria[s] y promotora[s] de las convenciones' (Odartey-Wellington 2000: 549). The maternal relationship is not an uncommon subject in critiques of Tusquets. Mercedes Mazquiarán de Rodríguez explores it, both in fictional and autobiographical terms, in '*El mismo mar de todos los veranos* y *Carta a la madre: un diálogo intratextual*' (2000).

'Failed Fairy Tales and Feminist Re-vision in Esther Tusquets' *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*' is Maureen Tobin Stanley's contribution to Molinaro and Pertusa-Seva's edited volume on Tusquets, *Esther Tusquets: Scholarly Correspondences* (2014). In her chapter, Stanley approaches the

use of fairy tales by Tusquets from Adrienne Rich's notion of 're-vision' as a new way of seeing, and affirms that Tusquets 'subverts the phallocentric worldview that posits Woman as a lesser and lacking construct' (2014: 3). Stanley finds in *El mismo mar* two opposite readings of children's stories, embodied in each protagonist: Clara's reading of these texts is transgressive inasmuch as she refuses to emulate the fairytale heroines and bears witness to the fact that 'failed fairy tales subvert the phallocentrism, misogyny, and heteronormativity that interiorize Woman and all that is deemed feminine' (2014: 9). Elia, however, capitulates to patriarchy because, according to Stanley, she is 'the product of her phallocentric and heteronormative social milieu and suffers from constructs and strictures that render self-actualization nearly impossible for women' (2014: 22). This is an argument I develop in Chapter Three when I talk about 'models for growing down' in my analysis of *El mismo mar*.

A psychologic or psychoanalytic perspective has also been the starting point of much of Tusquets's criticism. Drawing on American and French feminist theory, Barbara F. Ichiishi approaches the first four novels of Tusquets as a female Bildungsroman or narrative of development in *The apple of earthy love: female development in Esther Tusquets' fiction* (1994), a revision of her PhD thesis (1991). Adopting a psychoanalytical critical perspective, Ichiishi perceives Tusquets's protagonists as extensions of the author and interprets their problems rooted in a failed mother/daughter connection. In a similar fashion, the premise of Oliver Medina Torres's PhD thesis is that 'el desamor materno originó la necesidad de escribir en Esther Tusquets' (Medina, O. 2016: 11). Lonsdale's complaint that there is 'a

widespread tendency to conflate author and narrator in criticism' (2007: 165) seems particularly relevant here.

In 'From the modern to the postmodern novel: the case of Esther Tusquets' (2001), Stacey D. Casado argues that *El mismo mar, El amor es un juego solitario, Varada tras el último naufragio* and *Para no volver* 'constitute a modern novelistic tetralogy' (2001: 44). Later on, in her book *Squaring the circle: Esther Tusquets' novelistic tetralogy, a Jungian analysis* (2002), she analyses the archetypes, the symbolisms, the myths and the processes of individualisation exposed in Tusquets's tetralogy in the light of psychoanalysis focusing specifically on Carl Jung's theories. Casado's research is based on the concept of a universal and collective female psyche that is formed by the contributions of particular female ones. In turn, these individual female psyches transmit archetypes, what Casado sees as parts of the universal collective unconscious. Thus, following Jung's theory, Casado interprets Tusquets's characters as personified and symbolic projections of parts of the personal and collective feminine unconscious.

In 'Espacios terapéuticos en la trilogía de Esther Tusquets' (2017), Laura Parau analyses the home, the female body and the sea as three representative spaces in Tusquets's trilogy, emphasising their therapeutic character and showing the relevance of space for the author. These spaces have not only a physical dimension, but also a symbolic one, since they are closely connected with the inner rehabilitation processes of some characters in difficult situations: 'lejos de ser unos ingredientes marginales, los espacios tienen un papel fundamental, ya que son consustanciales a los personajes y cumplen, en muchos casos, una función terapéutica' (Parau 2017: 147).

Andrea Toribio (2017) analyses how the narrator's soliloquy achieves a verbalisation of affective realm, 'entendido como única manifestación política de la novela' (2017: 91). On the feminist premise that the personal is political, Toribio argues that individual desire is the new moral status in these narratives, able to decentralise conventional discourse and naturalise counterhegemonic discourses. Although I agree with the reading of the affective realm as political, I do not see it as the only political aspect in the novel.

In analysing Tusquets, while I am not interested in delving deeply into the matter of feminine identity, I will try to expose, in accordance with Cibreiro, the social obstacles, i.e. the 'restos de estructuras patriarcales' (2000: 601), that make the ontological search of the feminine identity unattainable for the protagonist of *El mismo mar*.

I agree with Lonsdale when she disregards gender as an isolated interpreting factor for cutting the novelist off from the socio-historical context. However, my interest in combining gender with other concrete cultural and political factors and experiences is not to insert Tusquets in the cultural and political history of Catalonia, but to reflect on her depiction of a subjectivity intersected by these factors who, as a product of the Francoist dictatorship, struggles in a personal and social period of transition.

Although most critics explore the question of lesbianism in *El mismo mar,* I will be more interested in foregrounding the protagonist's bisexuality, as we shall see in Chapter Three. I will not engage with the psychoanalytical aspects of Tusquets's narrative–especially visible in *Para no volver*–, since this matter moves away from my thesis. Neither will I dwell on Tusquets's

re-writing of myths and fairy tales beyond the interpretation of the protagonist's relationship with her family and with her first love.

To end this section, I would like to comment on Brad Epps's 'Desgarraduras del cuerpo y degolladuras de la voz: emotividad, género y poder en *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* de Esther Tusquets' (2017), a re-reading of Tusquets's novel decades after the first reading. This 'ensayo crítico-memorístico' (2017: 208), as he calls it, explains how Epps's first reading 'se deleitaba en la eclosión de la marginalidad genérico-sexual,' while the recent reading 'se exasperaba ante la exposición de la centralidad de la clase pudiente' (2017: 203). Epps establishes a parallelism between his experience and Geraldine C. Nichols's manifested in her articles 'The Prison-House (and Beyond): *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*' (1984) and 'Minding her P's and Q's: The Fiction of Esther Tusquets' (1993). While Nichols's first article is openly laudatory, the second questions the first article's arguments, widely contradicting them. Epps sees in Nichols's change of opinion an emblem of a complex history of the critical reception of the novel.

The reasons for this controversial situation is, according to Epps, the implicit relation between 'convicciones feministas y fuertes reacciones emocionales' (2017: 205). Epps sees a generational component in the differences between critics such as Nichols, Levine, Bellver, Glenn, Ordóñez and, for example, Laura Lonsdale, who remarks that these critics' perspective is too emotionally charged.

In 'A Question of Values: Narrative Consciousness in *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*' (2011), Laura Lonsdale puts into question those critical responses that, from a feminist perspective, consider Tusquets's first novel a betrayal by the author of both her character and her reader. Lonsdale engages with Helena Miguélez-Carballeira, who provides a useful overview of feminist reactions to Tusquets's fiction, and mentions Nichols (1993) and Levine (1987) as examples of this reading. According to Lonsdale, 'critics have preferred to measure their reactions against the benchmark of their own pre-existing feminist convictions' (2011: 80), reacting against the author's violent reimposition of the status quo. It is the power of Tusquets's writing that provokes such angry reactions, she says: 'so engaged does the reader become in the stories that she tells and the characters that she portrays that the defeat of these characters provokes strong emotional as well as critical reactions' (Lonsdale 2011: 81).

Epps's explanation for these critics' differences is that Nichols and the others wrote their pieces in a very precarious moment when interrogating the specificity of the feminine was conflictive. Lonsdale, on the other hand, publishes in a time in which feminist studies are marked by intersectionality. According to Epps, these disparate opinions about the novel are caused, amongst other things such as the narrative's semantic richness at multiple levels, by the critic's circumstances: 'el texto de Tusquets, como todo texto, por repetitivo y cerrado que parezca, se abre a un proceso interpretativo y evaluativo en el que el aquí y ahora del crítico, de la crítica, no se deja abstraer del todo' (Epps 2017: 206). This change is meaningful and relevant to explain my own contribution to the study of my authors.

The most relevant aspect of my thesis is precisely the fact that I look into the Spanish Transition through the novels of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz forty years later, by which time the official discourse of the period has hegemonised the collective memory, has also been problematised and put into question, and yet continues to display its most resilient aspects.

I do not intend to carry out an exhaustive or systematic study of these authors' work, or to trace their evolution. Instead, I seek to amend the abovementioned lack of transmission. I will show that these writers attested to the conflictive realities of the period and provided an account of the accelerated changes in moral values that occurred in Spanish society; and that, in their attestation, they created counter-hegemonic narratives which, importantly, support today's critiques of the Spanish Transition.

Sharing the approach of current revisions, my understanding of the period takes this analysis beyond the political process to the subjectivities of those who lived under the dictatorship and participated in the democratisation of the country, considering people's vital experiences as narrated by the authors in this study. I agree with José Teruel when he affirms that 'la literatura de la Transición política comenzó a hablar claramente desde una categoría aún más comprometida que la ideología, y era la de la experiencia' (Quoted in Toribio 2017: 91). I approach the experiences expressed in these novels as paradigmatic not only of women's literature, but of literature in the Transition as a whole. Moreover, focusing on aspects that address the changes and the expectations of part of Spanish society after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco, I argue that they are paradigmatic of the transitional period itself.

In order that my contribution is fully understood—that is, my attempt to build a bridge between the early novels of the authors in my study and today's critical revision of the period as counter-hegemonic—, I need first to explain what I call the Spanish Transition as *process/discourse*. In the following section, I will cover the mechanisms that came together to construct the intricate narratives that have constituted Spain's *cultural memory* (or the lack of it) in relation to a political process in the late 70s and early 80s.

iii. The Spanish Transition as *process/discourse*

I contribute to the revision of the Spanish Transition with a socio-political analysis of the works of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz, in the mentioned attempt to build a bridge between these authors' perception of the flaws of the process and today's critical approach to the period and I said I will articulate this revision around the three most pervasive narratives of the *process/discourse*. But what do I mean by the Transition as *process/discourse*?

When we approach the subject of the Spanish Transition,[30] we soon realise that its importance lies not only in the historical events as they happened, but also (and more importantly) in how the process was (and still

[30] 'Spanish transition' is the expression most often used to denote the years that followed Franco's dictatorship in Spain. It was, indeed, a period of 'transition', but transition to what? This question holds the key to the term 'Transition', which emphasises forward-moving evolution towards a final target: democracy. In countries like Argentina, Uruguay or Chile, the term *posdictadura* is recurrently used to name the years of their own transitions to democracy, but in Spain, for reasons we will see in this study, one struggles to find a term other than *transición*. While 'post-dictatorship' highlights the weight of the past regime in the years that followed and creates an awareness of what the process of transformation had to overcome, 'transition' does not. Thus, the story of the Spanish Transition starts, in its very name, by diverting one's attention away from the many unresolved issues that might have emerged from such a long dictatorial experience and directing it instead towards the desired outcome of democracy.

is) chronicled. From the moment the Transition was officially concluded, it was clear that the political process and its discourse had merged.[31] The one depends on the other:

> Como todo fenómeno político y social, la transición tuvo también su lenguaje, su *medium* lingüístico en el que se apoyó, se manifestó explícitamente, y se ocultó implícitamente. El lenguaje que servía de vehículo al discurso político de la transición fue algo más que eso, un vehículo. De algún modo se puede afirmar que la transición fue lo que fue su discurso político, y viceversa. (Águila and Montoro 1984: 1-2)

Since then, the telling and re-telling of this *process/discourse* became commonplace and, controlled by certain media and by experts, it grew into a myth: 'there is scarcely a story more mythologized by the intellectual clerisy than the story of the Transition' (Resina 2000: 5).

From the very beginning of the process until recently, the Spanish Transition to democracy was mostly portrayed as a total success, so much so that it was seen as an exportable political model whose cornerstone was the 1977 Amnesty Law.[32] The media was crucial in casting the Spanish Transition as a great accomplishment through which democracy had been

[31] Although the influence of Foucault—especially his 'discursive formation' applied in the analyses of large bodies of knowledge and its relation to power—is relevant in my research, I will use the term *discourse* specifically to speak of a narrative that becomes hegemonic in society, which is considered official, and which is perpetuated through a constant (mostly oral) recounting and through the review of experts.

[32] The Amnesty Law was promulgated in 1977 by the government of Adolfo Suárez. It liberated political prisoners and shielded any crime committed during Franco's regime from being brought to trial. In February 2012 the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights demanded that the 1977 Amnesty Law be repealed on the basis that it violates international human rights law. Despite several other demands, the law is still in force and has impeded the investigation and prosecution of Francoist human rights violations.

achieved, imposing on society a specific version of historical and contemporary events.

Amongst the media, from its very first issue in May 1976, the newspaper *El País* played a leading role in perpetuating this depiction. During the years of the Transition and for a long time after, *El País* was 'a hegemonic instrument for encoding and enforcing knowledges about Spain. No other […] ha[d] either the readership or the public status needed to challenge the mnemonic politics of this powerful opinion-shaper' (Resina 2000: 85). Following Resina, I understand and cite *El País* as a privileged and particularly influential instrument for creating knowledge and shaping public opinion.

On 15 October 1977, the day Adolfo Suárez's government promulgated the Amnesty, an *El País* editorial described it as:

> un acto excepcional, justificado por la razón de Estado y por la necesidad de hacer borrón y cuenta nueva de acontecimientos tan cruentos y dolorosos para un pueblo como es una guerra civil—una guerra entre hermanos—y una larga dictadura. La España democrática debe, desde ahora, mirar hacia adelante, olvidar las responsabilidades y los hechos de la guerra civil, hacer abstracción de los cuarenta años de dictadura. (*Editorial*)

Without making any explicit connection, the editorial linked the dictatorship to the threatening memory of the war, and the necessity to forget the latter (shown by the exhortation or the command 'debe') allowed both dictatorship and war to fade into oblivion. There was no need to make amends.

The Spanish Transition as *process/discourse* has not always enjoyed the same level of social acceptance and prestige. This is why, in every moment of crisis that has seriously threatened the status quo of post-dictatorial Spain, those defending the Transition have reasserted the period's discourse in society and re-established the myth.

In 1992, a triumphalist Spain hosted the Olympic Games in Barcelona and the Universal Exposition in Sevilla, saw Madrid designated European Capital of Culture, and celebrated the Quincentennial of Columbus's arrival to America, with no expense spared. But in the two years that followed, Prime Minister Felipe González and his government faced some extraordinary accusations, the most deplorable of which were the case of Luis Roldán in 1993 and the GAL case in 1994.[33] There was a serious crisis of public trust in the authorities, which contributed greatly to the eventual defeat of the PSOE in the 1996 general election: 'For Spaniards, the years 1993 to 1996 were a time of great confusion. After twenty years of democracy, they felt a sudden need to reassess the central characters of the transition' (Pérez-Díaz 1999: 1-2).

From October 1995 to April 1996 and for twenty-six Mondays, *El País* issued a pull-out section dedicated to the commemoration of the Transition. A compilation of all the articles was eventually published under the title *Memoria de la Transición*. In the opening note ('*Nota inicial*'), the editor

[33] Luis Roldán, the general director of the Spanish Guardia Civil, was involved in a huge corruption scandal (embezzlement, bribery, tax evasion and fraud) that was unveiled by daily newspaper *Diario 16*.
GAL (an acronym for 'Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación', Antiterrorist Liberation Groups) were death squads illegally established to fight ETA (an acronym for 'Euskadi Ta Askatasuna', Basque Homeland and Liberty), the principal Basque separatist terrorist group whose complete dissolution was announced on the 3rd May 2018. The GAL were active from 1983 to 1987, under PSOE governments and financed by senior officials within the Ministry of the Interior. Another daily newspaper, in this case *El Mundo*, revealed the plot in a series of articles on the matter. [http://www.elmundo.es/nacional/gal/investigacion/principal.html]

Santos Juliá emphasised that the volume had been published due to the success of this section and described it as a reflection on the immediate past made by 'authorities' on the topic.

The first words of the prologue in this volume referred to the aforementioned unrest in Spanish society and established a link between it and the various reactions that the *process/discourse* of the Transition provoked: 'Glorificada por unos hasta el ridículo y condenada por otros como una traición sin atenuantes, la transición española no ha escapado todavía a las pasiones políticas del momento' (Ceberio 1996: 9*)*. To put this questioning to rest, *El País* decided to recover the memory of those successful years. Memory here is in the singular, as the titles of the volume and the prologue ('Recuperar la memoria') indicate, for very deliberate reasons.

From their own perspective and in their capacity as witnesses, the journalists, writers, historians and intellectuals who collaborated on this newspaper told the history of the period, speaking as authorities legitimised by their high degree of expertise. In doing so, they were playing an active part in the process of moulding a democratic Spain by a well-meant control of its discourse:

> La democracia no sólo puede ser desestabilizada desde fuera por sus enemigos, sino también desde dentro por todos los que la apoyan sinceramente. […] Lo que podemos *controlar* más plenamente es *el tipo de discurso* que prevalece en nuestra vida política diaria. (Emphasis added. Malefakis 1996: 500)

The process of the Spanish Transition merged with its discourse when one specific version of the historical events was imposed over others as

'official' in order to (re)produce a controlled understanding of the past, shaping a collective memory. Then, this *process/discourse* evolved into a myth, advancing a static hierarchy of values and meanings, that, in turn, created a limited set of possibilities for the future in view of the fact that, as Roland Barthes explains, 'the very end of myths is to immobilize the world' (1991: 155). The myth does not allow the actualisation of the collective memory, impeding the creation of a *cultural memory*.

The discourse of the Spanish Transition highlighted certain events as milestones of the time, while obscuring others, and singled out particular protagonists at the expense of others. Any process of retrieving information lies in a selection and assemblage of events and actors into stories, which means that the narrator actively shapes experiences into an intelligible form. This narrativisation is not just an interpretative tool, but also 'a specifically *mnemonic* one. Stories "stick".[34] They help make particular events *memorable* by figuring the past in a structured way that engages the sympathies of the reader or viewer' (Rigney 2008: 347).

According to Walter R. Fisher's all-encompassing 'narrative paradigm', the recounting of stories establishes a meaningful life/world. Fisher refers to narration as 'a theory of symbolic actions—words and/or deeds—that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create, or interpret them' (1984: 2). I will use the term *narrative* to refer to the product of that act of narration. I argue that these narratives are vital not only because they articulate one dominant collective memory, but also, more importantly,

[34] Sara Ahmed in her work *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* refers to the notion of 'stickiness' and postulates that to ask the question 'what sticks?' is a form of re-posing, once again, more familiar questions about the difficulty of achieving social transformation or about the intractability and endurance of power relations even in the face of collective forms of resistance. See Ahmed 2004: 11-12.

because they affect our perception of reality and its transmission. When retrieving information, we are victims of a cognitive illusion: we estimate the probability of an event depending on the examples we can recall. Popularising specific actors and events from the past makes them more memorable and, according to this illusion, the most memorable events are judged to be the most probable and, ultimately, the most real. Exactly the opposite happens when certain events are not widely shared: the stories that are not recounted are perceived as improbable, and eventually as unreal, as if they never happened.

As critics, we are also responsible for what is perceived as 'real'. Talking about literature, Belén Gopegui refers to this responsibility:

> la novela, cuando es buena, cuando no es un producto adulador e inconsistente, entonces argumenta de tal modo que logra fundar visiones del mundo. Y lo que ella no funda, lo que no argumenta, pierde su lugar en el imaginario colectivo y, en última instancia, en lo real. (2008: 40)

Going back to the idea of the CT, when it comes to analysing this period in the history of literature, most critics do so recurrently re-creating the idea that a 'subjetivismo acrítico'—according to Blanco Aguinaga—, 'la privatización de la literatura'—in José Carlos Mainer's words—, or the 'planteamiento egocentrista del propio material narrativo'—mentioned by Pozuelo Yvancos—(all quoted in Becerra 2013: 37-38) predominated amongst writers, thus contributing to the consolidation of the *process/discourse*. I do not want to question the literary complacency referenced by the critics, but to argue that to exclusively focus our attention on it is to ignore other realities of the period. Moreover, I argue that opening

the description of the literary canon of the Transition with the inclusion of testimonial literature by women authors widens the perception of the period and challenges the perpetuation of the *process/discourse*.

I analyse the early novels of Roig, Tusquets, Ortiz and Montero in contradistinction to what I consider the three intertwined narratives that ground the *process/discourse* of the Transition: the benefits of the *pact of forgetting*, the propriety of the *consensus* and the birth of *a new Spain*. These three narratives are insistently repeated, reinforcing 'a collective national mythology' (Cardús i Ros 2000: 25) and hence consolidating the official account—and, more importantly, the reception—of events.

According to the first narrative, the whole of society agreed to turn the page on the past. Everybody 'parecía coincidir en una idea: que si se tenía que pasar la página del pasado—que luego se vio que era lo que todo el mundo quería—, se hiciera sin sangre, sin reavivar el espíritu de la guerra civil' (Elordi 1996: 122). Looking back to the recent past, so the narrative goes, would have immediately awakened the tempers that triggered the Civil War and the 'Cain problem' of 'las dos Españas'. In the opinion of these chroniclers, the decision to forget the war was reached by common consent as a redeeming act, which became the key to the success of the Transition: 'En la exclusión de la guerra civil radica el fin primario del orden social […] ese descubrimiento efectuado por los españoles tras el fin del franquismo […] constituye posiblemente su mayor tesoro político' (Aguilar, M.A. 1996: 346).

Secondly, the Transition was often characterised as an arduous but harmonious process. The consensus that made it possible was defined by default as a compromise that ultimately depended on relinquishment. 'El consenso es la suma de muchas renuncias,' said Miquel Roca (Interviewed

by Pastor 1996: 321).[35] There was a constant stress on the gravity of the historical moment and on the difficulties in getting an agreement, which were often overcome by the good will of a select group of protagonists.[36] These protagonists—Juan Carlos of Bourbon, Adolfo Suárez, Felipe González, Santiago Carrillo, Manuel Fraga—were identified individually in a narrative that heroised them while simultaneously asserting that the process succeeded due to collective efforts. 'La primera conclusión que hay que sacar es que la transición se hizo entre todos, y la segunda, que se hizo bien,' said Alfonso Guerra (Interviewed by Alameda 1996: 235).[37]

Finally, we have the narrative of a brand new Spain. As opposed to the problem of 'las dos Españas', which was linked to the ghost of the Civil War, there was a constant call to embrace a new spirit. Referring to Suárez's nascent administration, these analysts asserted that 'la voluntad democrática del nuevo Gobierno fue evidente casi de inmediato' (Fusi 1996: 165), even though most members had held posts of responsibility under the dictatorship and the institutions remained almost identical for years.[38] This narrative

[35] Miquel Roca was one of the seven men who drafted the Spanish Constitution. The PSOE ceded a position in the Constitutional Commission of Congress to the Basque-Catalan nationalists to avoid internal discrepancies with the PSP ('Partido Socialista Popular', Popular Socialist Party), a section led by Enrique Tierno Galván. The nationalists benefitted from this and chose Roca as representative.

[36] Julia Navarro's *Nosotros, la Transición* (1995) is the epitome of a narrative about the Transition constructed around a selected group of protagonists.

[37] Alfonso Guerra was Felipe González's most trusted man. He was key to the victory of PSOE in the 1982 elections as press secretary of the party. Responsible for preparing the campaign, he traveled Europe interviewing leaders of other Social Democrat parties. He was the Deputy Prime Minister 1982-1991 and he served continuously as a member of Parliament from the constituent legislature in 1977 to January 2015.

[38] The insistence of this image led to seeing delusional changes. Looking back to the first democratic elections and the corrupted urban development of the period, one chronicler stated in 1996: 'se venía abajo la dictadura de los empresarios de la construcción, verdaderos gobernantes del suelo hasta que los concejales salieron de las urnas. A partir de marzo de 1979 se va terminando el tinglado, y arraigan las normas urbanísticas y su aplicación con disciplina' (Grijelmo 1996: 372). In 1996, there were more than enough public scandals involving corruption and real estate speculation to reveal any claim of complete democratic transformation as dubious to say the least. This issue has only increased since the 2008 financial crisis and what was called in Spain the 'burbuja inmobiliaria'.

promoted the image of a brash, young, cosmopolitan nation, an image that found its cultural counterpart in popular conceptions of the 'Movida'. This movement was institutionalised by Tierno Galván when he was mayor of Madrid, and the slogan 'España está de moda' sent a message to the world radically different to the one that had been exported under Franco. The shaping of this new democratic and European look for Spain coincided with increasing sponsorship of cultural production by the state.

These interlaced narratives, which underlay the official discourse, remind society of the success of the Transition and have not yet passed out of common use. Part of the importance of the *process/discourse* of the Spanish Transition lies precisely in its persistence and its great resilience as myth: these three unchanging narratives have survived the passage of time and remained generally unquestioned in mainstream Spanish society.[39]

But the one-time monopoly over creating and controlling meaning has been eroded. There are manifestations of a distrust of the political and economic elites—similar to that which dominated the end of González's tenure—and the *process/discourse* has once again fallen into crisis. This distrust materialised at the turn of the millennium in the foundation of the

[39] On the occasion of former Prime Minister Felipe González's appearance at a symposium organised (fittingly) by the 'Asociación para la Defensa de la Transición' (Association for the Defence of the Transition), *El País* published an article (April 2013) whose title ('Hay una crisis institucional que galopa hacia la anarquía') evokes the collapse of the Second Republic institutions and the aforementioned threat of the Civil War. González is quoted at length: 'llamó a recuperar el "consenso" de la Transición y a emprender "reformas" con un perfil "pragmático". […] Estuvo de acuerdo en "renovar" el pacto de la sociedad con la Corona […] Para surfear el tsunami de la crisis, dijo González, hay quien levanta hoy "la bandera de la independencia" y quien iza "la republicana". Nada de eso servirá, insistió: "Estamos ante una crisis institucional". Un momento para ir a "una segunda Transición". La primera la hizo, prácticamente solo, Adolfo Suárez' (Gutiérrez 2013: online).
In these words, we see how the official (mythologised) narratives of the Transition remain intact: the pact of forgetting reappears in the useless hoisting of the Republican flag; the heroism of Adolfo Suárez as the maker of the Transition is highlighted; finally, the longing for novelty arises from the need to 'renovar el pacto' between the institutions. The success of the Transition was such that, according to González, it had to be repeated again in order to overcome the economic crisis.

'Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica' (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory) by Emilio Silva and Santiago Macías in 2000—an activist organisation that collects oral and written testimonies of Francoist repression and excavates mass graves in order to identify the bodies of its victims. Such distrust culminated in the 2008 financial crisis, with growing demonstrations in the streets that ended with the occupation of squares across the country in 2011. The 15-M marked a turning point: social movements and civic engagement have gradually been increasing since then.[40]

New and old dissenting voices against the *process/discourse* of the Transition now have a bigger impact than they once did, and the idea that a real democracy was never achieved in Spain (publicly voiced in the 90s) resonates much more than it has done in the past. This dissension stimulates the revision of the canon and encourages a wider understanding of literary production, suggesting the coexistence of multiple (often conflicting) tendencies that counter-act the image re-produced by the CT. When 'artistic value is correlated with the defamiliarization of received ideas' (Rigney 2008: 348), arts in general and literature in particular appear as privileged media to oppose and undermine hegemonic views, even in the face of institutional pressures.

[40] The 15-M Movement, the *indignadxs*' movement against austerity measures, also referred to as 'Take the Square' or '#spanishrevolution' was a series of massive public demonstrations on the 15th May 2011 that sprang up in fifty-eight cities around Spain and lasted until October that year. People were summoned by social networks such as Real Democracy Now (*Democracia Real Ya*) to demand a real democratic system (their feeling of not being represented by any of the main political parties was put into words in the slogan 'No nos representan'), and to express their rejection of the austerity measures passed by the government. It began to have visible impact on the political sphere in the municipal and general elections in 2015 and in the end of two-party dominance.

When Rafael Conte closed his review of the literature of the Transition asking '[y] ahora, ¿qué decimos?' (1985: 24), he forgot women writers– despite being the ones who seemed to have something to say, according to the critic–, thus he couldn't answer his own question. It is my objective to explore what Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz were saying, and I will do it, not in general, but with respect to the three narratives that constituted the *process/discourse* of the Transition—i.e. the pact of forgetting, the consensus, and the new Spain.

iv. Structure

My study is organised into three chapters, correlated with each of the most resilient narratives of the Spanish Transition, in order to see how they are problematised by the novels analysed here, in line with the ongoing revision of the Spanish Transition.

Chapter One will provide answers to the following questions. Do the novels in the study agree with the affirmation of the hegemonic discourse of the Spanish Transition that the pact of forgetting was a desired and desirable decision for the whole of society? How do the accounts of these novels contribute to today's discussion about the recovery of historical memory?

I will examine Spain's purported success in overcoming the experience both of the Civil War and of the ensuing dictatorship by means of the 1977 Amnesty. I will consider the debate on the recovery of historical memory, understanding it, as does the philosopher Reyes Mate, as a *hermeneutic battle*. In a hermeneutic battle, Mate explains, what counts is not the interpretation of facts or figures but the subsequent moral significance of this interpretation.

I will engage with the work of scholars (Ricard Vinyes, Pedro Ruiz, Santos Juliá, amongst others) who have discussed the connection between memory and history from different perspectives, paying special attention to the moral responsibility or the civic empowerment that history/memory entails.

I will contrast the artificial collective memory created by the *process/discourse* with other versions of memory based on personal perceptions and experiences articulated through fiction which, I argue, are capable of constructing a much needed *cultural memory* through the actualisation and transmission of memories.

Finally, I will analyse the reflections on history/memory and the narration of memories within my literary corpus, reasoning out a pertinent gendered perspective. I will turn my attention to Ortiz's anti-chronicle *Urraca*, whose protagonist I describe as an unusual agent of memorial transmission, and to the discussion about the ethical imperative of not forgetting in Roig's *L'hora violeta*.

Chapter Two enquires into the way the novels in this study put into question the hegemonic depiction of the achievement of democracy; namely, as a pact amongst politicians able to represent the whole of society as being engaged in a celebrated consensus.

I will focus on the works of Roig, Tusquets, Ortiz and Montero as counter-hegemonic spaces able to contest a male-dominated *process/discourse*. Using Victoria Ocampo's expression, I will conceive my authors as 'testigos sospechosos' of the men of the Transition, and expose

how they uncover the conflicts of a consensus that left women (but not only women) in the margins.

I will examine the narrative of the consensus both as constructed by the *process/discourse*—as a reconciliation that relied on other narratives of equal suffering, tragic inevitability and shared responsibility—, and as deconstructed by its critics—as an elite settlement that achieved a representative rather than a participative democracy by acting out a social cohesion and depoliticising society.

I will continue by showing that, while the *process/discourse* suggested that the 'espíritu de la Transición' achieved the effective reintegration of post-dictatorial society, the novels in this study reveal the opposite: that it resulted in yet another dichotomy of 'winners' and 'losers' that managed to divide a whole generation of *sesentayochistas*. Firstly, I examine how our authors describe the triumphalism of the winners of the Transition as a performance (following Alberto Medina's idea of 'representar el consenso') as opposed to the feeling of exclusion that other sectors of society felt during the process. Secondly, I examine the authors' portrayal of the sacrifice of the losers, which they depict as essential to the materialisation of democracy.

I will end by bringing the expectations and personal trajectories of the anti-Francoists to the fore, to evince that as their imagined future is re-created in the novels, it became part of the collective imagination even though it did not materialise. In the final part, I will pay particular attention to the depiction of men who did not agree with the terms of the consensus and whose vital political commitments are interpreted as a trauma in Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria* or as a sacrifice in Roig's *L'hora violeta*.

In Chapter Three, I will address questions that lie at the heart of the novels in this study. What was new and what was not new in the transitional period? Was the institutional transformation enough to create a new democratic society?

I will challenge the hasty declaration of a 'new Spain', which became embedded in the *process/discourse*, on the basis that the only concrete changes that occurred were economic, and that these had already been progressively taking place under the dictatorship. I will consider the characters' perception of these changes and, more importantly, of other developments that did not coincide with those celebrated by the *process/discourse* but which were, nevertheless, vital to the Transition. To illustrate my points, I will examine the process of subjectivisation of one character in particular (the protagonist of two of Roig's novels) and I will conclude that the real challenge during the Transition was overcoming what Resina calls Francoist *pathos*, commonly known as sociological Francoism, the social characteristics typical of the dictatorial period that survived after the death of Franco and remain omnipresent though often invisible in the present day.

The main body of this chapter will be dedicated to exploring this deep-rooted *pathos*, which post-Francoist Spain needed to dispense with in order to become truly new and democratic. My analysis will focus on the concept of sentimental education (a particularly intimate part of the Francoist *pathos*) and, more specifically, on the construction of romantic love and the division of gender roles, which had an intense effect on society in general and on women's subjectivisation in particular.

By sentimental education I refer to the complex social narratives around emotions that mainly affect the practices of love, gender, sex and sexuality.[41] This education is historically and culturally determined and is embedded in the deepest strata of the learning process where, though often invisible, it influences all other spheres of life. I understand the issues raised in the literary works under analysis not just as intimate, subjective experiences, but as a fundamental part of profound changes occurring in society at the time.

I will argue that the authors in this study create a *sentimental counter-education* in opposition to the inherited one imposed by National Catholicism. I will explore such counter-education around three key aspects: the need for women's emancipation; the advocacy of love as a liberating (rather than a confining) force; and the tragic consequences of gender division, formulated in Lourdes Ortiz's analysis of passionate love in her book *El sueño de la pasión* (1997).

Finally, and within this context, I will dedicate the last pages of this chapter to analysing three novels in detail: Montero's *Crónica del desamor* (1979), Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* (1978) and Roig's *L'hora violeta* (1980). I will argue that the authors in this study contributed to the creation of a *fictional emotional imagination* that helped people, especially women, to understand their own emotions in the transitional period. Moreover, this imagination helped them to counteract the most toxic aspects of Francoist-patriarchal sentimental education by illustrating it from a feminist perspective, and by offering a paradigm alternative to it.

[41] I analyse homoerotic and homosexual interactions within the parameters of heterosexuality because, in the Transition, although heterosexuality may not have been as compulsory as it had been, it was still institutionalised. This does not mean that I do not acknowledge the differences and particularities of homo relationships and the importance of their presence in the novels in this study.

I have found the terminology in Eva Illouz's *Why love hurts* and *Consuming the Romantic Utopia,* and Anthony Giddens's *The Transformation of Intimacy* extremely useful for my research in this last chapter. I also draw on Michaël Foessel's *La privación de lo íntimo*, especially in my analysis of Tusquets's novel.

The influence of Paloma Aguilar, Joan Ramón Resina, Carmen Martín Gaite, Eduardo Subirats, Pilar Nieva de la Paz, Ramón Buckley and Germán Labrador on my research is present throughout this thesis. With it I hope to build a bridge between counter-hegemonic views in the novels of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz and those of today's revisions of the Spanish Transition in order to incorporate these women's perspective in our *cultural memory* of the period and to demonstrate that their views were relevant to the transitional society as a whole and still are today.

Chapter 1. Constructing a *Cultural Memory* against the Pact of Forgetting

Under history, memory and forgetting.

Under memory and forgetting, life.

But writing a life is another story.

Incompletion.

Paul Ricoeur

When asked in an interview about how much 'we' (referring to the Spanish people) have learned about the immediate past (specifically about the Francoist dictatorship), Enrique Moradiellos (a historian awarded the National Prize for History in 2017) answered: 'Como historiadores sabemos cada vez más, *aunque no se vuelque en saber popular*' (Emphasis added. Guerra: 2013 online).

In this chapter, I argue that in order to dissolve the homogeneity of the *process/discourse*, and penetrate the intricacies of Spanish history, we need to incorporate individual stories into the narratives of the period, understanding the significance of the impact that the individual and the collective have on each other. This approach helps us to create a *cultural memory* that redresses the previous lack of transmission (originated by the pact of forgetting), taking the reciprocal relationship between past, present and future into account.

According to Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith,

> [c]ultural memory […] can best be understood at the juncture where the individual and the social come together, where the person is called on to illustrate the social formation in its heterogeneity and complexity. The individual story […] serves as a challenge and a countermemory to official hegemonic history. (2002: 7)

Fictions are crucial when it comes to integrating the personal dimension into the collective representation of the past. They 'possess the potential to generate and mould images of the past which will be retained by whole generations' (Erll 2008: 389). In doing so, they overtake history in the narration of the past, as they build what Marianne Hirsch calls a 'sense of living connection' (2008: 104).

On the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary, Montero's *Crónica del desamor* was reprinted. In the prologue—titled 'Hace treinta años'—the author writes: '*Crónica del desamor* no fue nunca una novela autobiográfica […]. Pero sí es una novela estrechamente pegada a una realidad generacional. Un retrato en directo de aquellos años ardientes de la Transición' (2010: 12-13). Although Montero had decided some years earlier and after many editions not to re-publish the novel, she confesses that people's requests made her change her mind. She emphasises that those who wanted to see the novel reprinted were not only members of the generation who lived through the period and personally identified with the characters (at an individual level), but also their children, who saw the novel as part of their own history too.

Literature is a privileged medium to re-present life. Most importantly, it singles out individual voices and, makes them recognisable, allowing readers to identify with them and to feel recognised in their turn. This process

gives readers a sense of the wider social relevance of their own experience. Novels in particular succeed in assembling these individual voices into a complex entity, and it is 'precisament aquest fet el que fa que aquest públic percebi el missatge com un fet *real*'[42] (Dupláa 1994: 35).

Christina Dupláa, talking about the 'novela testimonial'—commenting on Roig's work—underscores a characteristic shared by many novels (especially those written by women) published during the Transition: the polyphony of voices that provides the readers with space for identification and recognition, creating the illusion of reality. In relation to the *process/discourse*, novels that are *testimoniales* achieve two things: firstly, the polyphony of voices they create is antithetical to the univocality of the *process/discourse*; secondly, the illusion of reality they project both supplements and challenges the impression of 'reality' derived solely from historical information about certain landmark events and influential individuals to which the *process/discourse* give prominence.

Giving individuals a voice—the right to share their own memories—is an empowering act. And at the juncture between private and public (created by this act of sharing), gender may be a determining factor and a useful tool of analysis: 'What a culture remembers and what it chooses to forget are intricately bound up with issues of power and hegemony, and thus with gender' (Hirsch and Smith 2002: 6). Along the same lines, Sara Ahmed affirms that: 'feminism moves toward a pragmatic historicism which […] points to the fact that social and linguistic practices and conceptual systems

[42] '[T]he novel as testimony has a polyphonic function […] It is precisely this which makes the public perceive the message as a *real* fact,' my translation. An excellent example of a contemporary polyphonic *novela testimonial* about the Transition (more specifically, the days just before Franco's death) is Rafael Chirbes's *La caída de Madrid* (2000).

are sites of contestation and are overdetermined by an unequal distribution of power' (1996: 79).

Women's stories have generally been underrated, hidden from the official history and literature is, once again, an effective means to redress this obscurity. As women's stories which were formerly excluded are told, they contradict the official patriarchal version of historical events, constituting a counter-history. 'But gender, like memory, must be grounded in context if it is not to remain an abstract binary structure' (Hirsch and Smith 2002: 7), and such a binary structure is found all too often.

Following the advice of Hirsch and Smith to ground gender (what women had to say and to remember) in context, I will critically examine the narrative of the pact of forgetting and explore the recovery of historical memory that has taken place since the turn of the millennium.

By the mid-1970s, the mood in society was volatile, oscillating between a long-standing hatred of the structures of the dictatorship and a new excitement over the recent economic, social, and cultural developments intended to distance the country from those structures. The sectors of society that had suffered injustice under the dictatorial regime (the 'losers')[43] demanded retribution while others wanted to look ahead without stopping to look back. As Ricoeur says, 'political prose begins where vengeance ceases' (2004: 500), and so, in order to create a political language that would suit the new situation, the whole of society needed to find a way to understand the origins of such intense general unrest. Spanish society had to come to terms

[43] After the Civil War, Spanish society was split between those who identified themselves as 'winners' and those who were seen as 'losers'.

with the Civil War and the thirty-six years of dictatorship that followed—but how could it find the right terms?

When we look at critical periods like the Spanish transition, it is clear that memory is crucial: the community needs to forge a collective memory in order to create political stability and then be able to transmit it. In Spain in 1975 the problem was that, when it came to interpreting past events and their aftermath, serious conflicts between opposing memories immediately emerged. In this kind of conflictual situation, social dynamics tend to lead either to a search for 'an official memory which satisfies everyone […] or [else] all references to the event in question are silenced in order to avoid controversy as far as possible' (Aguilar, P. 2002: 2). In Spain, according to the discourse of the Transition, the second option—a *pacto del olvido,* also called *pacto del silencio*—was not only inevitable, but also essential to the success of the process.

Even though it seemed a natural reaction to the situation and a reasonable prerequisite for moving on, what motivated the pact of forgetting was much more than a commonly shared desire to leave the recent past behind: 'there is also a certain official reluctance, even political opportunism, operating here which seeks to promote a collective amnesia (*desmemoria*) *vis-à-vis* the recent past' (Díaz 1995: 288).

As a narrative, memory is a source of power and legitimisation that depends much more on contemporary factors and interests than on a pure (and theoretical) capacity to recall (or, as a matter of fact, to forget) past events. In order to play a legitimate and decisive role in the transition to democracy, the heirs of the 'winners' who were in power during Franco's dictatorship needed to be dissociated from the regime.

The media exposed the clash between the 'búnker'—members of the extreme right who constantly reasserted their rights as winners—and the left-wing radicals, and frequently alluded to the explosive tension that built up during the Second Republic and resulted in the Civil War. What mattered was not the real similarities, but 'people's subjective perception of the situation and the intensity with which the present was able to evoke the past' (Aguilar, P. 2002: 10). The media magnified the 'ruido de sables' (the noise of sabres, i.e. the physical violence and the toxic influence on moral issues exercised by the 'búnker' in the post-dictatorship period), recalling the violence of the Civil War.

In making the connection between the bunker and the Civil War, 'le cargaron al búnker toda la memoria del franquismo. Derrotado el búnker, se daba por derrotado al franquismo' (Monedero 2013: 23). The heirs of the 'winners' who had been *aperturistas*[44] were then able to establish the governmental apparatus after the dictator's death, because who would want to bring up any memories that could raise the possibility of a new civil war? 'Weakness and fear not only can reduce social demands for accountability but also can make transitional justice an elite affair, a façade for battle between new elite and old nomenclature' (Barahona de Brito *et al*.2001: 17-18). It is in this sense that the pact of forgetting can be seen as political opportunism.

In fact, the situation was much more complicated than this. In the immediate post-dictatorship period, while this pact of forgetting was being

[44] In the mid 60s the *aperturistas*, represented by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, promoted the creation of associations within the Movimiento Nacional (a political institution which was the only channel of participation to Spanish public life). Their proposal did not succeed because of the opposition of the *inmobilistas*, led by Carrero Blanco, who feared that these associations could be the prelude to the reappearance of political parties.

enacted by the compromises of political party leaders, Spanish society was bursting with an accumulation of memories. An avalanche of memoirs, novels, films, and documentaries, triggered by the process of democratisation and all the expectations it generated, sought to re/tell the past.

This resurgence of memory—motivated by what Patricio Guzmán calls 'memoria obstinada'[45]—was manifested in the 'first cycle' of exhumations: according to Paloma Aguilar's research in Extremadura, Navarra and La Rioja, as soon as Franco died, spontaneous exhumations of Republicans executed by Francoists and buried in unidentified mass graves were carried out by relatives and friends who felt the need to offer their loved ones a dignified (re)burial. Paloma Aguilar's findings show that the reburials were accompanied by ceremonies paying tribute to the victims and were even preceded by religious ceremonies. In many of these localities, besides eliminating the old symbols of the dictatorship, mausoleums with inscriptions honoring the victims of Francoism were created. This calls into question the characterisation, perpetuated by the hegemonic discourse, of the Spanish Transition as a period dominated by a widespread wish to be silent about the past and to forget war crimes.

Agents of cultural production also participated in this memory boom that sprung up in opposition to the command to forget. Refusing to ignore the past, authors, artists, journalists, musicians, film directors, and others interpreted contemporary events and imagined potential futures through what had gone before. Carmiña Palerm describes this phenomenon as follows:

[45] *La memoria obstinada* (1996) is one of Chilean director Patricio Guzmán's documentaries and was filmed after the end of Pinochet's dictatorship in Chile.

> In the hands of those in power, memory becomes a tool which, in Bakhtinian terms, "monologizes" historical reality. It is then no surprise that as the Franco regime loosened its grip in the 60s and early 70s there was a "boom" in the Spanish novel based primarily on memory. Many writers of this epoch tried to recuperate the suppressed past of the Franco regime. (2004: 160)

As they sought to re/tell the past, they were mostly perceived as accurate reflections of the moment. Then, according to the parameters of the CT, the establishment sought to disrupt the transmission of any memories that did not conform with the aim of leaving the past behind.[46] A *hermeneutic battle* to seize the past began.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I take the concept 'batalla hermenéutica' from the philosopher Reyes Mate. In the interpretation of facts, says Mate, ideologues can establish a collective imaginary that ultimately justifies a certain position. Relating this to the concept of *historical responsibility,* he explains: 'Una cosa es contar los muertos y otra, comprender su significación. […] La batalla hermenéutica no es sobre los hechos sino sobre su significación moral' (2014: online). I think Mate's reflections on the appropriation of narratives, their impact on society and their moral implications are especially pertinent here as the debate continues to stir passions and controversies.

[46] Talking about two novels of the 90s, Antonio Muñoz Molina's *El jinete polaco* (1991) and Javier María's *Corazón tan blanco* (1992), Álvaro Fernández affirms that 'los procesos que las novelas ponen en escena delinean claramente el espíritu fundacional de la Transición, que necesita desconectar el presente de la comprometida historia cercana para mirar al futuro con ambición de triunfo, en un mundo donde la justicia y la verdad han pasado de moda' (2015: 529).

There was (and still is) much at stake in this battle between, on one hand, the memories of those who had been subjected to the repression of the dictatorship and, on the other, the interests of a new government partly composed of individuals who were (to a greater or lesser extent) involved in this repression. The transitional regime aimed for institutional impunity, so instead of gathering people's memories in order to reconstruct the past, they created social amnesia by controlling and codifying the discourse on memory through academia and social media. According to Vinyes, the problem lies precisely in the fact that '[el] Estado no suprime memorias: crea una memoria diciendo que no crea ninguna' (Interviewed by Sánchez León 2014: 237).

The government's efforts to win this hermeneutic battle resulted in the creation of what Ricard Vinyes calls 'buena memoria' (good memory).[47] This memory was 'good' not only because it served the establishment's interests but also because, in its 'goodness', it was convenient for a part of society that did not find the past acceptable, yet was not prepared to assume responsibility for what had happened. As Pérez Ledesma states, 'la memoria tiene que ver con las formas en que una sociedad se ve a sí misma y probablemente ésta sea una sociedad que no se ha visto a sí misma con un pasado porque sentía vergüenza de él' (Interviewed in Jerez Novara and Sánchez León 2014: 238).

So, in this hermeneutic battle, the establishment engineered two coexisting action plans. One: to publicly promote the pact of forgetting, making people believe that all memories were equally harmful to the process of creating democracy and that it was only fair to silence them all. Two: to

[47] An account of how politicians and historians agreed on a certain perspective on recent past events is offered by Gregorio Morán's *El precio de la Transición*, published in 1991, especially in the chapter 'Modos y maneras de enterrar el fantasma' (pp. 109-138). For a more journalistic approach see the article 'Una reunión poco conocida entre políticos de la transición e historiadores' (Marquesán 2015: online).

compose a 'master narrative' encompassing the key moments of political history. I understand master narratives as 'resources for strategic rhetorical acts that are invoked in hopes of persuading audiences to frame events in their terms and align personal narratives in the service of their specific goals' (Halverson *et al*. 2011: 195).[48]

Like all master narratives, this one sought to control the interpretation of the past (or, in other words, to keep the past under control) by creating a conclusive version of events that constituted this 'buena memoria', a 'we-were-all-to-blame' memory imposed on society to explain the past once and for all.[49] In this sense, '[t]o bring remembrance to a conclusion is de facto already to forget' (Rigney 2008: 345). The past was eventually removed from public debates and 'people got used to replacing true memories with fake ones' (Pérez-Díaz 1999: 178)—i.e. the ones provided by the official discourse—without enquiring any further once the transitional process was concluded.

The official politics of social de-memorialisation only allowed people to dwell on individual memories and only in a private sphere: '[l]es quedaba el derecho al recuerdo pero no a la memoria colectiva' (Morán 2015: 74). The result was a *domestication* of memory in a double sense: firstly, memory was domestic in that it was restricted to the closed atmosphere of home and the family, and it therefore appeared as detached from society as a whole; and secondly it was tamed, i.e. made less powerful and easier to control, because

[48] As part of this master narrative, we find a boom in autobiographies (fictionalised or otherwise). These autobiographies were an individual way for the authors to vindicate themselves, and they also had a strong impact on society's general understanding of the period.

[49] A 'we-were-all-to-blame' memory was possible because, as we shall see in detail in Chapter Two, the elite classes had been promoting the idea of a 'never again' (as part of the rhetoric of 'reconciliation') since before Franco died, setting the basis for the consensus in their pre-negotiations.

any memories that differed from the official 'good memory' were considered a threat to the status quo. In one of Roig's last books, published in 1991, on the acts of reading and writing, she affirms: 'Hoy día es peligroso recordar. […] Recordamos a escondidas' (1993: 53).

This phenomenon could also be read as a *privatisation*[50] of memory in two senses: on one hand, as related to 'private' in the sense of not being public—i.e. as intimate—, and on the other hand, as a transfer from being public property to being privatised, and therefore as opposed to collectivisation.[51]

It was not until the late 90s and early 2000s that a new attitude towards the recent past emerged in public debate, questioning the perpetuation of this discourse of oblivion and the persistence of memory as a taboo. This development was articulated most clearly in what was called 'recuperación de la memoria histórica': '*un fenómeno de reapropiación social de la capacidad de narrar desde muy diversas perspectivas y soportes aspectos de un pasado que reclama de nuevo atención o que parece estar todavía pegado al presente, aquí*' (Italics in the original. Jerez Novara and Sánchez León 2014: 211). Victims of Francoist reprisals and people related to the resistance movement were contacted, teachers of primary and secondary school created activities oriented towards the political past, historians and journalists

[50] The expression 'privatización de la memoria' came up in conversation with Alia Trabucco Zerán.

[51] It is worth thinking here about how the arrival of capitalism in Spain came hand in hand with a change in the memory discourse of the Civil War: 'The régime deliberately associated the memory of the war, at least from the early 1960s onwards, with political stability, social peace, national unity and harmony and especially, with economic progress and rising standards of living' (Aguilar, P. 2002: 25). Also note how the collectivisation of industries was an open debate in Spanish society during the Transition, as can be seen in the testimonial documentary by Cecilia and José Juan Bartolomé *Después de...* (1979-1980). See especially the first part: *No se os puede dejar solos*.

uncovered files of information that had previously been sealed. The number of fictional narratives, academic publications, media productions, and documentaries dealing with the Civil War and the dictatorship experienced a steady increase.[52]

This movement gathered strength with the generational shift at the turn of the century, stimulated by 'the need for meaning that the third postwar generation projects on the war' (Winter 2012b: 14). It materialised first in the foundation of the abovementioned Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory in 2000 and later on, in 2007, in the 'Ley de la Memoria Histórica' (Historical Memory Law 57/2007).[53]

Amidst this resurgence, to counter-act the movement for the recovery of the historical memory, a wave of right-wing historical 'revisionism' rapidly developed.[54] Those who took part in this trend had a clear anti-Republic standpoint, asserting that the Popular Front provoked the Civil War and that left-wing historians had been covering up Republican crimes.[55] Many reputed historians highlighted the fallacies and historiographical

[52] The memory boom was so acute that some authors began to adopt an ironic approach. The case of Isaac Rosa is most representative: he reedited his first novel, *La mala memoria,* published in 1999, with the title *¡Otra maldita novela sobre la guerra civil!* in 2004, adding an appendix with a satirical exegesis to every chapter of the original. This approach reflects the recent and increasing interest in the Civil War and is not meant to discourage its exploration, but to encourage it to be carried out 'en serio y evitando ciertos tratamientos superficiales' (Belausteguigoitia 2007).

[53] The Law of Historical Memory (Ley de Memoria Histórica 52/2007) recognises and broadens the rights and establishes measures in favour of those who suffered prosecution or violence during the Civil War and the dictatorship. It was passed by the Congress 31 October 2007 under the government of Prime Minister José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero.

[54] For an overview of this trend, see Moradiellos (2007).

[55] This revisionist trend soon received support from right-wing media (such as Jiménez Losantos's radio programme in COPE—a private radio network owned by a series of institutions within the Spanish Catholic Church). The most popular representative of this trend was Pío Moa with books like: *Los orígenes de la Guerra Civil española* (1999), *Los personajes de la República vistos por ellos mismos* (2000), *El derrumbe de la II República y la Guerra Civil* (2001). It was the historical perspective supported by PP politicians in both Aznar's government (1 April 1990 - 2 October 2004) and Rajoy's (21 December 2011 - 1 June 2018).

inconsistencies of this revisionism and its function of creating political upheaval, and they invited the authors to an academic discussion. These revisionist authors, however, did not engage with the invitation and never presented solid arguments to defend their claims—see Serna (2007). Nevertheless, the controversy triggered a heated debate over historical memory, not only amongst historians but amongst thinkers and opinion-makers from different fields.[56]

The hermeneutic battle over the recent past that resulted in a domestication/privatisation of collective memory during the Transition has been resumed, and now, decades later, it includes the Transition itself: 'la prensa española se ha convertido en un campo donde se batalla sobre la relación entre el pasado reciente español y la legitimidad de nuestra democracia' (Faber *et al*. 2010: 70).

Against those who declare the need for a 'recuperación de la memoria histórica', there are those who dismiss the very notion of historical memory– '[N]o sé qué es defender la memoria histórica, ni siquiera sé qué es la memoria histórica,' Santos Juliá interviewed by Leonor García after being awarded the National Prize for History in 2005. The former try to find a way to compensate for the shortfall in the transmission of memories that Spanish society suffered first during the dictatorship and later, after the Transition. The latter object that the movement conceals different agendas, such as a desire to gain economic compensation for relatives of the victims of Francoist reprisals or, more importantly, the delegitimisation of the Transition as a process that brought democracy to the country. To understand the ideological

[56] For good examples in which this debate is understood as a memory war see e.g. the volume edited by Ángel Viñas, *En el combate por la historia* (2012) or Espinosa Maestre (2007).

consequences of this hermeneutic battle around the pact of forgetting, we need to contrast both positions, examining the terms of this debate around history and memory.[57]

One of the most influential figures who dismiss the notion of historical memory is Santos Juliá, the editor of the aforementioned *Memoria de la Transición*. Santos Juliá wrote his first opinion piece in *El País* the day after the electoral victory of the PSOE (Juliá S. 1982) and has been a frequent columnist for the paper since then. Through *El País*, he became an influential opinion-maker who helped create the hegemonic discourse I analyse here. I introduce the terms of the debate following his arguments (and not those of the revisionists), because I consider him to be a rigorous historian who has an extensive bibliography on twentieth-century Spain and also illustrates the perspective that opposes a revision of the Transition with the (now classic) argument that it could not have been done differently.

According to Santos Juliá, during the Spanish transition there was neither silence nor forgetting. 'No fue en los libros donde más se habló en aquellos años de un tema que exigía tiempo y arduas investigaciones. [...] Pero tampoco se silenció' (Juliá S. 2007: online), he writes, although the imposition of silence was pointed out explicitly and often mentioned at the end of the 1970s–Fernando González, *Triunfo*, May 1978, 'silencio cómplice de la oposición, que hubo de pactar el doble juego de la amnistía (el olvido aplicado a los franquistas)'; Jorge Semprún, *Triunfo*, June 1979 'el pacto de la Moncloa implica el olvido'; Jiménez Losantos, *Lo que queda de España*, 1979, our history 'está oficiosamente sujeta a un pacto de silencio'; José

[57] In this section I am interested in the public debate of historical memory. If all the historians I quote are male it is because most think pieces in Spanish mainstream media were (and still are) written mainly by men (especially those with further repercussions and public replies).

Vidal-Beneyto, *El País,* November 1980: directly refers to the 'pacto de silencio' (all quoted in Espinosa Maestre 2007: online).

Santos Juliá offers an alternative explanation to the pact of forgetting, using the expression 'echar al olvido' which, according to him, involves remembering the past in order to put it to rest, thus preventing its interference with the process of making decisions for the future (see Juliá S. 2002). Nevertheless, the acts of remembering that were supposed to have taken place before memory was laid to rest were never publicly acknowledged, which meant that a general ignorance about the recent past remained, despite the existence of publications and research about the Civil War and the dictatorship–the problem that Moradiellos refers to when he affirms that this historical knowledge 'no se vuel[ca] en saber popular' (Guerra: 2013 online).

For Santos Juliá, a state should not have any official policy regarding the public representation of the past; reconstructing past events is the job of historians, and others should only aspire to form their own private opinions. For Ricard Vinyes, by contrast, one of the worst consequences of the long-term refusal of democratic Spanish governments to set up 'políticas públicas de la memoria' is precisely the fact that the responsibility to know and understand the past has been relegated to the private and academic spheres. Vinyes argues, as we have seen, that the State transmits a particular version of the national past, even if it has no official policy with regards to it. Besides, he posits, it is the responsibility of a democratic state to seek the historical roots of its democratic values and institutions and present them openly (see the contrast between Juliá and Vinyes in Faber 2011: 20).

Another argument against historical memory relies on the difference between history and memory. At the end of his article 'Trampas de la

memoria' (see Juliá S. 2006), Santos Juliá affirms: 'A estas alturas, no es la memoria lo que hay que recuperar; es la verdad lo que hay que conocer.' This sentence reflects the opinion of a whole host of professional historians who identify history with truth and oppose it to memory, displaying a contemptuous attitude towards the recovery of people's recollections.[58] In opposition to Santos Juliá, who seems to consider history an assemblage of facts, historians with a different perspective question any notion of absolute truth: 'el sentido último, el sentido objetivo, no existe. Somos nosotros, los humanos, los que le damos sentidos a las cosas, a los acontecimientos, a los procesos, y lo hacemos de múltiples y diversas maneras' (Ruiz 2007a: 20).

Pedro Ruiz understands both history and memory as forms of knowledge and, as such, as being inseparable from emotions and value judgements. What differentiates memory from history is not a subjective/objective condition, but the fact that the knowledge memory affords is 'orientado por la necesidad de intervenir en el presente, de actuar, de hacer frente a los problemas cotidianos de la existencia' (Ruiz 2007b: online). For this reason, he insists on the need to work on 'una memoria nacional nueva':

> Dicha memoria nacional basa su nueva unidad en una reivindicación patrimonial múltiple, enriquecida por

[58] Santos Juliá's view is shared by other historians whose ideology is akin to his. A good example can be found in Juan Pablo Fusi's article, 'Memoria Histórica' published in *ABC* in 2006. According to Fusi (who seems to disagree with Walter Benjamin's theory): 'La propaganda la escriben los vencedores; la historia la escriben los historiadores.' The only view of 'memoria histórica' that he considers valid is the study of 'las huellas dejadas en la memoria colectiva por los acontecimientos, los hombres [*sic*.], los lugares y los símbolos del pasado.' Despite admitting that history is open to interpretations and rectifications, and that historical objectivity and truth are incomplete and perspectivistic, he insists that history is 'un cuerpo sustantivo y duradero de conocimiento.' He defends the idea that historians do not make 'uso dirigista del pasado desde el poder' (unlike those who work with 'memory') and have been doing very rigorous work on the recent past since 1975 (Fusi 2006: online).

> historias reprimidas o marginalizadas, y resulta en consecuencia una memoria desacralizada, democratizada, con el fin de constituir otro tipo de identidad, plural y diversa, en perpetua elaboración, retocada de modo constante. (Ruiz 2007a: 13)

While Santos Juliá, in the belief that the truth is contained in history, urges that debates over the facts of the past be brought to an end (2003: 6), other historians such as Julio Aróstegui or Ignacio Peiró see the possibility of a debate as the very essence of history. Aróstegui does not see memories that conflict with one another as a threat but, on the contrary, as being constructive: '[l]a historia del presente se constituye, pues, sobre el cruce, la convergencia o el disenso de memorias vivas de quienes son coetáneos' (2002:76). Peiró defines history as 'el fruto de una tensión continua, de una sucesión de debates acerca de problemas recurrentes, acerca de conceptos esencialmente en conflicto' (2004a: 151). Echoing this idea that ceasing to discuss memory is already a form of forgetting, Peiró states that to conclude the debate over memory, is not only undesirable but constitutes a fundamental error:

> [C]onstituye un grueso error, tanto teórico como práctico, manejar una imagen rígida del pasado, como si fuera un territorio por descubrir (o una propiedad por guardar). Cuando en realidad se ha convertido en el escenario en el que ha empezado a librarse una nueva batalla. (2004b: 191)

Here again, there is the reference to the hermeneutic battle that is taking place.

As Habermas explains in his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), the debate over history has more to do with taking a

moral position and opening an ethical and political discussion in the public sphere than it does with a scientific dispute in the narrow field of historiography (explained in Peiró 2004: 247-249).[59] Connecting with Ruiz's idea mentioned above, the hermeneutic battle around memory (or memories) determines who has the right and the power to tell and interpret the past.

The historical memory movement poses the question '¿De quién es el poder de contar?' (see Faber *et al*. 2010, 2011) and shows that the proliferation of subjective stories has a liberating effect in itself and expresses a constitutive equality of people's status as citizens, something that is therefore essential to democracy. It is no coincidence that this emerging popular narrative of the recent past is forcing some pundits like Santos Juliá or Juan Pablo Fusi to defend their interpretations of the Spanish Transition. The idea here is not to delegitimise the transitional process, but to put that process under scrutiny, and to critically question where its legitimacy derived from at the time and where it comes from today.

If the transitional pact of forgetting aimed firstly to make society at large believe that the past was not relevant to the future, and secondly that the past could be eliminated ('echado al olvido') in order to reach future decisions, the historical memory movement has proved both assumptions wrong. The State's attempt to monopolise knowledge (or ignorance) of the past has ultimately failed.

Firstly, the pact aimed to create oblivion, but the testimonies that have been (re)appearing in Spain since the late 1990s show no evidence that

[59] The political implications of this have been analysed by political thinkers such as Jacques Rancière, Chantal Mouffe, and Ernesto Laclau whose ideas are extremely influential nowadays in Spain, especially in understanding the 15-M movement and its consequences in the shaping of a civil society and in the conception of a participatory (versus representative) democracy.

memories have been forgotten or traumatically blocked off. Instead, what we see in Spanish society's silence is a lack of transmission, a hesitation about whether or not to talk (see Labanyi 2007: 109). In Roig's *L'opera quotidiana*, young Maricruz points this out: 'Los viejos […] [s]e negaban a transmitirme las palabras. Como si tuviesen las llaves de una cerradura misteriosa y no me las quisieran dar' (Roig 1989: 177).

Secondly, the official discourse's construction of a master narrative was meant to put an end to debate, but—as a master narrative—it was not able to account for the complexity either of the past or of contemporary events due to its nature. As Pedro Ruiz explains:

> Las historias generales con protagonistas tales como los estados, las naciones o los pueblos, siempre suelen manifestar unas pretensiones 'armonizadoras' y unas visiones unificadoras que les hacen incapaces de dar cuenta de la complejidad, diversidad y conflictividad del proceso histórico. (2002: 26)

The phenomenon of historical memory brings this double failure to light thanks to its 'proliferación en el espacio público de discursos reivindicativos de la memoria de un pasado' (Ruiz 2007c: online), focusing attention on the challenges of the past. It has an indisputable personal affective dimension: it is emotionally charged and elicits passionate opinions even in the historians' 'scientific' disquisitions. We learn that, when dealing with the past, factual knowledge cannot be disentangled from ideology but neither can it be free from affect and individual emotions.

To deal with the challenges of the past, I argue that we need, firstly, to recover historical memory, bringing the debate back into the public arena and

to subject the past to a collective reinterpretation through a critical process; secondly, to build a *cultural memory*, paying attention not only to what happened but also to how what happened was passed down to society, and opening up spaces for testimonies and individual stories—emancipatory narrative material that can be found at its best in fiction.

I will now approach the relation between history and literature and, acknowledging the post-68 international trends, analyse both the rendition of women's stories and the reflection on history and historiography found in the novels in my study. I will highlight both the questions these novels pose to the *process/discourse* and their relevance to the understanding of the specificities of the transitional period in line with the historical memory movement.

In the 1970s and 80s, many writers around the world became aware of a global concern with promoting 'history from below', supplementing official history by giving voice to the voiceless. Novelists adopted a similar approach: 'there was a sense that standard histories falsified the past, that they presented barriers or denied opportunities for change. Novelists responded by constructing alternative versions of the past' (Sommer 1988: 116).

It was then that memory was first acknowledged as a reliable source for historiography, and became the object of historical research and literary production, bringing with it a new concept of subjectivity. The objective was:

> remover la conciencia de los ciudadanos ante la concepción de la historia cerrada, sin utopías […] anclada en el orden que supone la relación con un pasado controlado, saturado de memoria y mitologías nacionales. Una historia pensada desde la libertad y la crítica que pretende restituir la

> complejidad del pasado y defenderlo como un valor en sí mismo. (Peiró 2004: 278)

Later, there came the politics of memory and Pierre Nora's idea of commemoration, the inquiries about the conditions necessary for transmission, and the concerns about how the present remembers the past.

In a context saturated by national mythologies, the postmodern approach to the writing of history helped challenge 'both closure and single, centralized meaning' (Hutcheon 1989: 7). Contrary to the position put forward by critics like Terry Eagleton and Raymond Williams in the 80s, or even Frederick Jameson, who famously defined postmodernism as the aesthetic regime of an 'age that has forgotten how to think historically'–in his introduction to *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991)–, Linda Hutcheon affirmed the historical condition of postmodernism. According to Hutcheon, postmodern artworks reach history ironically, acknowledging that it is not 'the transparent record of any sure "truth"' (1989: 10). This view coincides with the reflections of Paul Ricoeur and Hayden White on the relation between fiction and history. White's historiographic theory views narrativisation as inherent to history writing, and argues that the past can be 'known' (as opposed to 'experienced') only through its texts.[60]

Without necessarily intending to tag them as postmodernist and extending some of Akiko Tsuchiya's reflections in her analysis of Roig's *L'opera quotidiana* (Tsuchiya 1990) and *L'hora violeta* (Tsuchiya 1998) to my literary corpus, I argue that the works of Roig, Tusquets, Ortiz and

[60] Many later historians have gone beyond Hayden White's relativism and Linda Hutcheon's postmodernist analysis, but the debate on postmodern historiography has been extremely influential in all critical fields. Moreover, their contemporaneity with the novels in this study makes their ideas relevant.

Montero—though not historical novels as such (with the exception of Ortiz's *Urraca*[61])—recover, recreate and fictionalise the past, addressing the intimate relationship between fiction, the narration of memories and the fallacies of official history from an ironic perspective. There is nowhere better than Franco's Spain to illustrate the creation of national mythologies—both Francoist and anti-Francoist. Acknowledging the impossibility of producing a tabula rasa, 'estas autoras españolas abordan sin demoras un pasado traumático que es todo menos perfecto' (Reinstädler 2007: 132).[62]

The fact that Roig, Tusquets, Ortiz or Montero are women must be seen as meaningful in the recovery of historical memory and the construction of *cultural memory*. Their works face up to their recent past and to the consequences of remembering and, by penetrating women's domestic sphere and incorporating a plurality of stories, they expose key elements that official history had omitted.[63] Their voices reveal 'el carácter "masculino" de la transición misma, de aquella "patriarquía" que continuaba vigente a pesar de haber muerto el "patriarca"' (Buckley 1996: XIV). When the transition began, these authors highlighted the continuation of the fiercely patriarchal

[61] Even though Lourdes Ortiz does not consider *Urraca* a historical novel—'Yo no he escrito novelas históricas. He escrito novelas, y como tal quiero que sean leídas y juzgadas, sin que se las encasille o se las cosifique' (Ortiz 2010: 58)—the novel does fit into the genre if we understand it not in terms of Lukács's classical definition, but of its postmodern reinvention, as we have seen it described by Anderson: 'the historical novel reinvented for postmoderns may freely mix times, combining or interweaving past and present; parade the author within the narrative; take leading historical figures as central rather than marginal characters; propose counterfactuals; strew anachronisms; multiply alternative endings; traffic with apocalyptics' (2011: online).

[62] In this article, Reinstädler is referring specifically to Carme Riera, Esther Tusquets and Carmen Martín Gaite, but her words apply to Montserrat Roig, Rosa Montero and Lourdes Ortiz as well.

[63] Relevant women writers narrativised history into a herstory during the 1980s. Christa Wolf in *Cassandra* (1983), for instance, revises the mythical representation of the major events of the Trojan war not by offering grand battle scenes and idealised portraits of the warriors, but by presenting them through everyday life, showing how women build a sense of community/sisterhood and find the possibility of freedom in this scenario of war (Iga Nowicz kindly brought Wolf's *Cassandra* to my attention).

structures that upheld the dictatorship and explored what this continuation meant not only for them but for all others who lacked a voice.

The character Natàlia in Roig's *L'hora violeta* voices this commitment to historical inclusivity: '*Me parecía que era necesario salvar con las palabras todo lo que la historia, la Historia grande, es decir, la de los hombres, habían hecho impreciso, había condenado o idealizado*' (Italics in the original. Roig 1986b: 20). Roig exposes the way that women have been marginalised, highlighting the fact that repressed histories are not simply absent. Rather, they have been made invisible through distortion by both totalitarian and utopian master narratives, which either condemned or idealised them.

When the crisis into which Marxism fell after May 1968 reached Spain, the ideological project of many intellectuals (mostly men) collapsed. Following a similar process to that which occurred not only in the rest of Europe but also in Latin America, 'intellectuals began to doubt whether they could adequately reconstruct their national histories in a way that would help to plot directions for change' (Sommer 1988: 112). In Spain, this was closely connected with the spirit of 'desencanto', which we shall examine in more detail in Chapter Two.

As Ramón Buckley explains, most Spanish male writers who fought against Franco's regime abandoned the ideas of progress and coherence provided by the utopian master narrative of Marxism[64] and started writing novels based on their own individual experiences and memories. After

[64] In Spain, opposition to the Franco regime had been articulated in Marxist terms (to the point that 'anti-Francoist' and 'Marxist' became synonymous), and the Communist Party worked for a long time as a political umbrella organisation.

clarifying that, in this case, the masculine in plural nouns applies to men, Buckley argues that:

> a partir de 1968 se produce la desbandada de toda una generación de escritores unidos, hasta aquel momento, por su compromiso con el marxismo. Lo que se desintegraba para aquellos escritores, no era sólo una determinada ideología, sino el concepto mismo de la Historia. A partir de aquel momento, aquellos escritores se refugiarían en su propia historia (con minúscula), es decir, en su propia memoria. (Buckley 1996: XV)

They did not build an alternative master narrative in response to the fall of Marxism—something that the *makers of the Transition* endeavoured to do when Francoism expired—: what they did instead, according to Buckley, was substitute 'we' with 'I'.

In her research on women's *testimonios*, Doris Sommer establishes a gendered difference between the (male) metaphorical and the (female) metonymical approaches to telling one's own story. According to this difference, most men who produced post-68 autobiographical writing assumed a voice that replaced the whole of society in a metaphorical way, valuing 'marginality as a mark of personal distinctiveness rather than as a measure of political inequality' (Sommer 1988: 130). With a similar distrust of History, women writers adopted metonymy instead, i.e. 'a lateral

identification through relationship, which acknowledges the possible differences among "us" as components of the whole' (Sommer 1988: 108).[65]

Metonymy has potential for resistance, shifting an exclusive historiography (which covets coherence and power) into a legitimate space for a counter-discourse that incorporated many different voices. Much closer to the testimonial than to the autobiographical, most Spanish women writers did not equate identity with individuality, and spoke from the position of a collective subject. It is in this sense that I read, in her prologue to the reprint of *Crónica del desamor,* Montero's affirmation that 'esta novela la hemos escrito de algún modo entre todos' (2010: 12-13) and that I argue that the authors in this study have a metonymical approach to telling their own story.

What follows is an analysis of why and how Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz responded to the narrative that the discourse of the Transition imposed on memory. After commenting on aspects related to memory (as concept and practice) which are generally present in their work, I will deepen my analysis, focusing on the two novels that approach historiography most directly in their attempt to rewrite and rethink H/history: Lourdes Ortiz's *Urraca* (1982) and Montserrat Roig's *L'hora violeta* (1980).

Literary narratives written by female authors are able to rescue women's spaces and experiences from silence, giving them a voice in a public world dominated by men. Now, it seems fair to ask: how are these private

[65] When analysing Roig's *Els catalans als camps nazis*, Christina Dupláa states that: 'el "yo" individual de las fuentes orales es para Roig un "nosotros" colectivo donde quedan involucradas las lectoras/es y la propia autora del texto como mediadora en el proceso comunicativo' (1996b: 158), something that also applies to Roig's novels.

experiences worth transmitting? what role could they play in the construction of a *cultural memory*? The characters themselves puzzle over this question.

Mundeta, the second of the three women in the grandmother-mother-daughter genealogy in Roig's *Ramona, adéu,* talks with an old man, a member of FAI,[66] in a hospital during the war and she observes:

> Después de hablar mucho rato callé. Ya no sabía qué decir y me daba vergüenza continuar la conversación con un tipo extraño, distinto a los que había conocido hasta entonces. No entendía su curiosidad, su manera incisiva de preguntarme cosas de mi vida, cosas banales e intrascendentes. Pensé que qué le importaba. Que mi historia era breve y anodina al lado de la suya, llena de luchas, de huelgas, de ruido y de aventuras. (Roig 1992a: 155)

Mundeta measures her life against that of the old fighter, illustrating the opposition between what Joan Ramón Resina calls 'sensory memory' and 'political history'. Through this contrast, Resina explains why Mundeta's words can easily give the impression of banality:

> It is possible to assert that political history privileges the narrative of change and transition, while the everyday is experienced as a denarrativized continuum, closer to

[66] FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica, The Iberian Anarchist Federation), is an active anarcho-syndicalist Spanish organisation created partly with the intention of keeping the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, a huge libertarian trade union) focused on the principles of anarchism. Anarchists played a central role during the Spanish Civil War: members of the FAI were at the forefront of the fight against the Nationalists—mainly in the Eastern Army ('Ejército del Este')—while, at the same time, a far-reaching social revolution spread throughout the country, and land and factories were collectivised and controlled by the workers. All social reforms ended in 1939 with the victory of Franco, who had thousands of anarchists executed.

> biological than to historical time. A powerful social technology detaches political events from the everyday and endows them with a dynamism that appears to inhere in them, producing the illusion that they and they alone are the contents of contemporary narrativity. (2000: 95)

Sensory memory is given prominence in these novels, as everyday experience (and everything it involves) is narrativised and conceived of as being as much a part of history as political history. History with capital letter, as Roig defines it in *L'hora violeta*, is incomplete and cannot (or should not) be understood in the same way after other individual stories have been incorporated into the narrative.

In Montero's *Crónica del desamor,* Ana wishes to write about her day-to-day life but, expressing similar worries to those of Mundeta, she hesitates because she considers it irrelevant—'escribir un libro así, se dice Ana con desconsuelo, sería banal, estúpido e interminable, un diario de aburridas frustraciones' (2010: 23). Ana's reluctance disappears by the end of the novel when she affirms that she ought to write 'ese libro que ahora está segura de escribir, que ya no será el rencoroso libro de las Anas, sino un apunte, una crónica del desamor cotidiano' (2010: 258).[67] The book Ana plans—the one we have just finished by the time we read these words—consists of a series of events that impacted a large group of people, and which are articulated as part of the sensory memory record.

These literary works create a different way of chronicling the past, not only because they narrate memories that, for the most part, had previously

[67] This decision to write the book is intimately related to the character's subjectivisation which I shall follow in Chapter Three.

been silenced, having been considered unworthy of transmission, but also because they offer a reflection on memory itself. To respond to the suggestion that these stories are banal and irrelevant: we can see firstly, that individual stories take on wider historical importance as they are revealed, through identification and recognition, as a form of shared testimony of the moment; this plurality makes H/history a truly collective experience–as Christina Dupláa puts it: 'Una voz, más otra, otra, otra… y otra dan la autoridad histórica que necesitamos para volver a leer nuestro pasado' (1996b: 157). Secondly, sensory memory leads to the rewriting and rethinking of H/history in different terms, re-connecting political events with people's everyday life. Engaging with people's stories at the intersection between the individual and the collective, these novels help construct a *cultural memory*.

While the discourse of the Transition sought to plunge the Second Republic into oblivion by re-presenting it as run by chaotic governments that left Spain in disarray, these novels insisted on its recuperation. The historical memory debate has highlighted the reluctance of those who propagate the official discourse to associate the new government with the Second Republic, exposing the fallacy of a self-made democracy whose roots are to be found 'en el diálogo que desde los años 50 se entabló entre las partes divididas por la guerra de 1936-1939, y que concluyó finalmente en la Ley de Amnistía de 1977 y en la Constitución de 1978' (Faber *et al*. 2010: 71). It is my view that a democracy whose foundations were constructed under a dictatorship comes across as a contradiction in terms. Also, the validation of a democracy through its own inaugural events—the 1977 Amnesty and the 1978 Constitution—appears to show a deal of hubris.

In the hermeneutic battle over the interpretation and understanding of the recent past, the authors in this study chose a side. A review of how the novels under analysis here work to reclaim the memory of the Second Republic, not just as a form of government but as a truly exciting collective project (mainly linked to political progress and perceived by the characters as something to which they can belong), adds something pertinent in this discussion.

Gender must, once again, be grounded in context in order to avoid committing the aforementioned mistake of remaining as an abstract binary structure, an example of which can be found in the following fragment from Juan Carlos Monedero's book on the Transition:

> Cuando echó a andar el nuevo régimen, no miramos a la Segunda República, no miramos a la guerra civil, no miramos al franquismo, y sólo buscamos el reflejo narcisista, espejo frente a espejo, en una transición enseñoreada de la que sólo se podía aprender resignación y disciplina (es de justicia hacer salvedad de las mujeres, que muy pronto recordaron los grandes avances de que disfrutaron con el advenimiento de la Segunda República: voto, divorcio, igualdad de los cónyuges, capacidad contractual, despenalización del aborto, derechos laborales […]). (2013: 58)

The author separates women out from the universal 'we'—who are this 'we' if *I* read the text?—[68] and it is the fact that he sees men's experience as ubiquitous, while treating women as an exception to be referred to between parentheses (once again), that leads him to reach the conclusion that memory was not exercised during the Transition, a conclusion against which I will continue to argue.

Although I agree with the wider implications of his statement (that gender discrimination had an effect and that being a man or a woman was decisive, in many cases, in determining what stance an individual would take on certain matters), I disagree with the assumption that all women remembered and supported divorce and abortion rights, etc., and that all men turned their back on the past and on those rights, just because they were women and men respectively.

When we specifically look into the novels in this study, we consistently find that any description of the Second Republic contains a sense of exhilaration. In Roig's *L'opera quotidiana* there is a scene in which Francesc Macià—'el Avi', or 'the granddad', leader of the Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC 'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya')—proclaims the Catalan Republic within the Spanish Republic from the balcony of the Generalitat of Catalonia after winning the municipal elections on 14 April 1931,[69] and Horaci was there to see it:

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[68] Personally, I am not surprised that this is a masculine 'we' after having completed a quick quantitative analysis of the bibliography of the book. This bibliography contains 224 author entries. Ignoring edited or coauthored works, compilations and official documents, it has 177 individual entries of which 165 are men and only 12 (6,78%) are women.

[69] This proclamation concerned the provisional government of the Republic. The project of a Federal State failed in Spain and the Catalans eventually accepted a statute of autonomy for Catalonia, similar to the one that exists today. In this quotation, my intention is to highlight the excitement about the *res publicus*, rather than the issue of Catalan independence, which is treated throughout Roig's work in a sophisticated way and would therefore need much fuller attention than is possible here.

> Pagès me subió sobre sus hombros, y la gente estaba contenta, y las banderas ondeaban, y el Avi nos hablaba desde el balcón, nos decía que ya teníamos República Catalana, y Pagès gritaba más que nadie mientras me sujetaba por las piernas, y yo me sentía un hombre como ellos, porque veía que mi padre se reía, él, que siempre parecía enfurruñado. (Roig 1989: 73)

The scene appears as a moment of coming-of-age for the protagonist, which corresponds with the political emancipation of the people, and the description makes the characters' joy not just visible but contagious.

Even though this sense of exhilaration is not exclusive to female characters, as we just saw, it is during this period that women and women's issues came to the fore politically. The novels reflect the importance of the Second Republic as the first time that women seemed fully aware of the political situation—Mundeta, the character we saw earlier in Roig's saga *Ramona, adéu,* confesses: 'No empecé a darme cuenta de eso de la política hasta el día en que proclamaron la República' (Roig 1992a: 28).

Later in their lives, these characters express the need to link the years of the Republic to the process of transition to democracy after the dictatorship, as they wish to re-experience the joy and to regain the truly democratic ethos that the Second Republic embodied. This demand for a bridge between the pre- and post-dictatorship periods derives from the sense of freedom and social agency that the former had, and which the latter needed to recover in order to find democratic legitimisation—something that could be achieved precisely through this link.

In addition to marking the pivotal point when the hopes of the Second Republic gave way to the restrictions of the dictatorship, the Civil War is described as a parenthetical moment. Rather than just being a calamity, it created what some people saw as a desirable scenario to change a state of affairs that was unequal for many—think of those triumphant moments during the war when factory workers declared a workers' revolution in Barcelona and marched, at least for a while, in a city they had won.[70] Amongst the inequalities under consideration, these literary narratives focus predominantly on those relating gender.

Women's enthusiasm for the war years shocks other characters in the novels who were born later: '[h]abía un aspecto en el carácter de su madre que Mundeta no acababa de entender del todo. ¿Por qué una mujer eclipsada y temerosa mostraba tanta animación cuando hablaba de la guerra?' (Roig 1992a: 76). There might be something disconcerting about this enthusiasm, but it can be explained in terms of the space and time women afforded through the disruption provoked by the war. Judit, Natàlia's mother in Roig's *L'hora violeta* writes in her diary (entry dated 30 March 1947):

> Añoro los días de la guerra pasados junto a Kati. No sé por qué pienso que fui tan feliz durante la guerra. Es extraño: fue la época en que vi más muerte y más tristeza y, a pesar de todo, fui feliz. Cuando Kati y yo, cogidas de la mano, paseábamos por una Barcelona *trastocada*. (Emphasis added. Roig 1986b: 128)

[70] This moment is beautifully described e.g. in George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (1938).

In Roig's trilogy, Kati embodies the possibility of women's emancipation. Embracing the prospect of breaking gender rules, she becomes a hopeful fighter during the war:

> Kati hacía lo que quería, y también lo hizo durante la guerra, la más optimista de todas, segura de que, si ganaban los rojos, las mujeres vivirían de otro modo. La guerra es de todos, nos repetía, no solamente es cosa de los hombres. Ellos al frente y nosotras aquí, para cambiar esta vida tan estúpida que llevamos. (Roig 1986b: 147)

Emancipation for women means agency—Roig's feminist position means that she affords little space to victimhood in her literary narratives. As the war comes to an end, and Kati suspects that the changes she sought will not be attained, she gauges the tragic after-effects and refuses to suffer passively: the same day that the *nacionales* enter Barcelona, she commits suicide as a final act of resistance. I will develop this statement about Roig's feminist perspective further in Chapter Three, where we will see how Norma, the character who writes Kati's story, is the one who (metafictionally) decides her suicide as an act that prevents her from becoming a victim.

As the historian Pedro Ruiz explains, narratives that recover the memory of the democratic past of the Second Republic, and of those who fought for it against the Franco regime, condemn the dictatorship and assert the need for the moral, political and legal reparations for the victims; by contrast, narratives that promote leaving things as they are in relation to the recent past consider any claim made by the Second Republic as a dangerous rupture to the consensus reached during the Transition. In any case, 'esos discursos reparadores o inmovilistas han de ser juzgados, no por lo que dicen

del pasado, sino por los valores que defienden en el presente' (Ruiz 2007b: online). I argue that these literary texts re-create the Spanish Second Republic in order to make a connection between the democratic space built by its government and the new possibilities for democracy after Franco's death.

Female characters evoke the Second Republic in terms of what it failed to provide after its drastic and sudden demise, bringing the expectations it created but never fulfilled into their own present because, as philosopher Reyes Mate affirms: '[d]eclarar in-significante lo que ya no es porque fracasa es una torpeza metodológica y una injusticia' (2006b: 47).

In doing so, they also revive the intentions of exiled authors such as Constancia de la Mora, Clara Campoamor, Victoria Kent, Silvia Mistral, Federica Montseny and Felisa Gil who, in their testimonies—autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, chronicles and novels—after the Civil War, express their wish to 'consignar otra Historia, a través de la palabra, de luchar en contra de la realidad objetiva de una Guerra perdida' (Samblancat 1997: 5). We find a similar commitment to filling in the gaps of historiographical writing, giving meaning to failed projects in order to do justice to their aims, in the work of the authors analysed in this thesis—words like these by Victoria Kent fully resonate in their writing:

> Yo quiero no olvidar todo lo que hoy sé. Que otros hagan
> la Historia y cuenten lo que quieran; lo que yo quiero es no
> olvidar, y como nuestra capacidad de olvido lo digiere todo,
> lo tritura todo, lo que hoy sé quiero sujetarlo en este papel.
> (Quoted by Samblancat 1997: 12)

An enforced forgetfulness did indeed come quite soon after the war. In Ortiz's *Arcángeles* there is a flashback from the bleak and disheartening

setting of a post-war city to the siege of Madrid and, amidst the darkest period of the war, we are indirectly reminded of the reason that led people to take up arms:

> en aquellas calles que no conservaban restos de bombardeos, de metralletas, de burros despanzurrados ni de mujeres rapadas al cero, ni del aceite de ricino metido con embudos en las bocas apretadas, ni de paseíllos al anochecer, ni de colas del estraperlo, ni del racionamiento, ni quedaban tampoco restos de aquellos amaneceres de soldados extranjeros, de aventureros a los Malraux, ni sonaba la ambulancia de Hemingway, ni sabíamos por tanto por qué doblaban las campanas. (Ortiz 1986b: 29)

The narration evokes the complexity of the past by combining a description of the cruellest part of the post-war with indirect reminders of the possibility of hope hinted at in the description of the siege. When the fighting ends, the possibility of freedom ends with it, and all hopes and expectations vanish into thirty-six years of dictatorship, leaving no memories behind in the streets of the city.

A trait of the characters who are depicted living in the Second Republic is the excitement they feel at having an active role in history, at being history-makers themselves. This feeling is completely lacking in the same characters after the Civil War ends. The image of the cloistered woman forced to live a meaningless life during the dictatorship recurs again and again. In the words of Candela's mother—one of the many voices gathered by Ana in Montero's *Crónica del desamor*:

> Casi cuarenta años juntos, desde que me casé a los veinte, virgen y niña. Sucedió todo muy rápido […] Me acostumbré a ir quemando los días […] reventada de cansancio y de rutina. Sabes, pasé tanto tiempo sin salir de casa […] que llegó un momento en que me sentía incapaz de afrontar el mundo exterior. […] Una mañana, de repente, me encontré casi en los sesenta, sin guardar recuerdos de mi vida. (2010: 215-16)

During the dictatorship, women's lives are presented as so worthless that their memories become non-existent. Thus, when the regime ends, remembering acquires a vital significance: the characters' existence and their perception of the world depend on it. In *L'hora violeta,* Natàlia—one of the protagonists in this novel and the main character in the previous *El temps de les cireres*—is on an island in the Mediterranean reading the Odyssey. This choice is in no way random: to most critics, 'one of the principal functions of Odysseus's autobiographical story-telling is to keep his memory alive and, in the poem, memory is the sole defence against dissolution' (Porter 1999: online). Like Odysseus, most characters in these novels devote themselves to memory, to a constant process of remembering, in order to exist.

We find this interdependent relation between remembering and being in the sixty-year-old Lucía, the protagonist of Montero's *La función delta*. When hospitalised in a clinic she starts writing her memoirs based on one decisive week thirty years before: 'Yo no tengo nada […]. Nada más que la memoria de aquellos años plenos, nada más que estos folios que voy rescatando del recuerdo y en los que juego a vivir' (Montero 1981: 89). Remembering and living are intricately interconnected to such an extent that

the self hinges on a recollection of memories and this recollection, in turn, becomes a self-asserting narration—in the words of Elia in Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*: 'todo lo que me resta de vida centrado en […] recontarme a mí misma por milésima vez las interminables, las inagotables viejas historias' (1978: 29).

But this does not mean that remembering is seen as an easy task. The resistance to reopening old wounds, powerfully felt by most Spaniards at the time, is unambiguously conveyed by many of the characters in these novels; the resolutions that many of them make to forget serve as examples of the way in which the desire or the need to set memories aside could be felt individually and shared collectively. In Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria*, when Enrique's wife is asked to remember the experiences she shared with her ex-husband as fellow members of the anti-Francoist resistance movement in order to help him recover from a traumatic shock, she reveals her reluctance to do so, and she remarks on the convenience of taking an active decision to forget:

> Me va a ser muy difícil comenzar a recordar desde el principio. […] Una olvida en seguida, ¡a dónde iríamos a parar si no tuviéramos la facultad de poder olvidarlo todo! No piense usted que soy una cínica. Lo que pasa es que lo pasado, pasado está, y yo no soy de esas personas a las que les gusta darle vueltas a las cosas; creo que hay que tirar para adelante. Si nos equivocamos en algo, se borra y a otra cosa […] sinceramente, una se crea defensas y hay muchas cosas que prefiero olvidar. (1986a: 99-100)

In spite of such a resolute effort to forget, these characters' complicated relationship with memory illustrates the impossibility of doing so—the desire to forget is ultimately unachievable. The mere act of explaining the reasons why one should forget can turn into an act of remembering. In Roig's *L'opera quotidiana,* Maricruz, a teenager who feels she is so young that she exists without a past to remember, illustrates this contradiction:

> Mi madre siempre dice que ha pasado la esponja, que se le ha borrado de la memoria la casa en que nació, los animales que tenían y la tierra que se moría por la sequía. Ella asegura que así es mejor, si quieres empezar una nueva vida, que no puedes ir arrastrando las penas de todo lo que has dejado detrás de ti. Y que su pueblo se ha quedado detenido en el pasado, en un rincón de Castilla. Sólo tierra árida y cuatro escombreras que antes eran casas, dice mi madre, y el viento que silba por la noche para acompañar a los muertos que se han quedado solos en el cementerio. Así que mi madre me enseñó a no tener recuerdos. (Roig 1989: 38)

Maricruz can picture her mother's home village in the Castilian plain in detail—and so can we—only because her mother, in the act of erasing this place from her memory, has undoubtedly told her daughter about it. For Maricruz's mother, the same memories become both reasons to forget and, paradoxically, forms of remembering.

Forgetting is not a passive natural process (as, ironically, remembering can be). Rather, it requires an active attitude: young Maricruz learns this from seeing her mother's conscious intention to wipe memories out. Yet, soon

enough, the girl realises that having memories is irresistible: 'Retenía en la memoria su mirada, las caricias que me hacía en la mejilla y los pequeños picoteos en la garganta, como pellizcos tiernísimos […]. Descubrí que, para recordar, sólo necesitamos el silencio' (Roig 1989: 136). Maricruz has had her first meaningful sexual experience and memories come naturally to her mind as soon as she is left alone. The fact that her mother had instilled in her the value of non-memory cannot stop the series of images and sensations that captivate her, becoming new memories as they do so.

Contrary to expectations, when the choice arises between either suppressing all memories, or accepting the challenges of remembering (and openly facing a traumatic past), the truly challenging option for these characters is to forget—and so it was too for Spanish society.

The literary narratives under analysis suggest that the past is, as Halbwachs put it, 'not preserved but reconstructed on the basis of the present' (1992: 40). Remembering discloses a complex narrative process that mingles actual past events with perceptions of the present, while the present also shapes the remembrance of the past.

The case of Miss Altafulla, in Roig's *L'opera quotidiana,* shows this mutual influence: this old lady lives her present immersed in a static space and time—she does not leave the house and her old furniture, apparel and attitude protect her from the changes outside. At the same time, she (re)constructs for Maricruz (the girl who not only helps her with the house but is also paid to listen to her reccurring stories) the version of the past that best suits the purposes of her here-and-now.

The old lady constantly talks about her romantic encounter with the dashing, debonair colonel Saura, 'un hombre que estaba hecho para la guerra,

que conocía la crueldad y la fuerza del acero, pero que también era fuego y espíritu. Ya no quedan hombres como mi coronel' (Roig 1989: 86). When, one day, Maricruz insists on knowing what happened to him after the war, Miss Altafulla responds: 'El coronel se fue a su isla, querida, aunque fuese valiente y audaz en las cosas de la guerra, en el fondo era un hombre de paz' (Roig 1989: 200). Immediately after saying these words, she hands Maricruz an old letter from Mexico written by a friend, which talks about Saura in quite different terms:

> aquel pobre infeliz, el coronel Saura, el menorquín... ¿Te acuerdas de él? ¡Cómo nos hacía reír, tan desastrado y con aquella pinta de adán! Tú eras la primera en tomarle el pelo, decías que no comprendías cómo podía ser militar, bajo como un tapón de cuba y estrecho de pecho. (Roig 1989: 200)

The letter gives a real answer to Maricruz's question, as it relates how the colonel was executed by firing squad after he decided to stay in the country instead of going into exile. Miss Altafulla not only idealises her past but completely adapts it to preserve her wellbeing in the present, showing the possibilities of extreme distortions of memory. In this scene, two versions of the same event overlap and even though only one actually happened, it is the other that constitutes Miss Altafulla's reality. This character's narration of the past depends on her perception of the present, which relativises the possibility of establishing a final and conclusive version of previous events.

Most of the aspects analysed above can be found in Lourdes Ortiz's *Urraca* (1982) and Montserrat Roig's *L'hora violeta* (1980), but the central

approach to history in both these works deserves closer attention in this chapter. These two novels recuperate historical events while consciously challenging the narration of history in a way that Linda Hutcheon in the late 1980s called, as mentioned above, 'historiographic metafiction': they combine meta-literary devices with historical fiction, showing how both literature and historiography are dependent on the history of discourse. In her analysis, Phyllis Zatlin brings out the use of the metafictional mode in the early novels published by Montero, Tusquets and Roig, highlighting its subversive potential: 'Metafiction calls into question the view of reality found in the traditional realistic novel and underscores the fictional aspect of autobiography and history' (1987: 37). History and literature closely interact in the two novels examined below, challenging 'both any naive realist concept of representation and any equally naive textualist or formalist assertions of the total separation of art from the world' (Hutcheon 1989: 6).

1. *Urraca*, an unusual agent of memorial transmission

Urraca (1982), by Lourdes Ortiz, is a good example of a historical/literary project that reflects both on the past from the present and on the present from the past. We have seen in our literature review how some critics analysed it as a project of 'Her/story'. Hailed as one of the most complete historical novels written in the transitional period (see Ciplijauskaité 1988), it is a first-person narrative of the historical queen Urraca—or, rather, of Ortiz's literary version of her—while locked up in a monastery in 1123. It could be argued that, since Urraca is speaking from the twelfth century, what she has to say does not resonate with the present. However, Ortiz, describing the novel as a literary genre, explains: 'Hable de lo que hable, la novela irremediablemente

dará cuenta de su tiempo. […] Ya sea la historia o la realidad más inmediata lo que se nos cuente, es del presente y para el presente de lo que nos habla' (2010: 42).

Most of the story takes the form of an ongoing dialogue with Roberto, a monk who keeps Urraca company and who listens to her story as she decides to contribute to historiography with her own writing, becoming what Hirsch and Smith call an 'agent of memorial transmission' (2002: 2). It is in fact the need for memorial transmission constantly expressed by Urraca which gives continuity to her whole narration and which is the justification for the presence of the monk. Although the monk does not actively participate in the conversation, he is fundamental to updating Urraca's memories, so much so that in his absence, she mentally addresses him.

Despite the first-person format, the novel does not present a homogeneous or monolithic reality. Quite the opposite, it directly challenges such an approach by combining scraps of dialogue, inner monologue and fragments of what Urraca perceives as an anti-chronicle.

Urraca is a novel based on documents: the author aspires to historical fidelity in her representation of characters and events. Ángeles Encinar has checked the accuracy of the historical references and has found only one element in the narrative that does not conform with the facts recorded about the real queen. She affirms that, for the most part, what Ortiz does is fill in the historical gaps around this character (see Encinar 1994).

As a historical novel, *Urraca* creates expectations of veracity, but as a piece of fiction, it goes beyond them. In his analysis of postwar novels, David Herzberger argues that fiction is superior to history and to myth 'not because of the truth-value of its discourse but because of its propositions about truth'

(1991: 43). Urraca's chronicle not only adds to our knowledge of a historical figure in her historical context, but also questions the truthfulness of official history. If the narration of historical events can never claim to encompass and explain everything, then literature at least manages to fill in the gaps, creating a new historicity.

Lourdes Ortiz refers to the relation between fiction, history and truth when theorising the potential of the novel, something relevant to her work and the work of the other authors analysed in this thesis:

> La novela es un terreno de libertad. La historia, la crónica suele estar al servicio de ideologías o de poderes; o, si no, está limitada por el dato concreto y constatado—y cuanto más objetiva se pretenda, menos podrá improvisar a partir de esos datos que son siempre fríos, despojados de sentido, o de sentidos, y sobre todo de intenciones. La novela permite, en cambio, transpirar, intuir, abrir fisuras y preguntas, introduce la reflexión y el sueño, y como no está sometida al síndrome de la "Verdad" con mayúscula, sino solo a la verdad de la ficción, puede adentrarse en terrenos y sugerencias que la historiografía ha desterrado o despreciado, abriendo nuevas luces sobre la historia oficial y, sobre todo, introduciendo la desconfianza sobre el dato. Dato que, con su peso, parece negar cualquier versión diferente. Hoy sabemos que el dato-dato es precisamente lo que más puede construirse, inventarse e imponerse como obvio. (2010: 56)

When Urraca starts writing, the first obstacles she encounters are the

requirements of the chronicle as a genre. Medieval chronicle was part of the *ars memoria* or memory craft, the rhetorical skill that chroniclers, historians, and biographers, aware of the dangers of oblivion, used to provide records that allowed people—who were members of an inherently conservative society—to trace their customs. Accuracy was valued, but the fragile yet strong nature of oral transmission was well known:

> the highest authority for any historical story was the eyewitness account, a record that by its very nature was oral and hence vulnerable. Yet, this weakness simultaneously provided a great advantage because the fragile transmission allowed enough flexibility to mould information, almost imperceptibly, to changing circumstances. What counted in the Middle Ages was, therefore, the perceived accuracy of a version of the truth about past events on which communities could agree. (Von Houts 2009: 188)[71]

This *ars memoria* is traced in *Urraca,* with two vital differences: firstly, in Medieval chronicles women's memories were written down by monks and not by women themselves; secondly, their stories were generally not acknowledged because women's testimonies were not deemed authoritative. In the novel, Urraca is motivated to write by a simple chain of reasoning that contradicts this latter point: a queen's story needs to be told, and who is in a better position than the queen herself to explain, amongst other things, the steps that have led to her incarceration by her own son?

Acknowledging that '[u]na crónica no debe detenerse en sentimientos

[71] Doriane Zerka pointed out to me the features of medieval chronicles.

y en personajes secundarios' (Ortiz 1982: 48),[72] we witness as the queen struggles to choose what to tell and how to tell it. In a chronicle, Urraca affirms, there is not much space for personal feelings, but she is unable to escape her emotions when describing her own experiences. According to Antonio Sánchez, Urraca's narrative voice 'constitutes a postmodern challenge to materialist and positivist modern models of representing the past […] which make a clear-cut distinction between the personal and the historical, the imaginary and the factual' (2007: 180). For the critic, 'the literary recall of past sensory experiences' is what provides Urraca 'initial access to the past' (Sánchez 2007: 181). But it is more than that: as she constantly debates whether she should tell intimate things—'sus hazañas, sus amores y sus desventuras' (1982: 12)—or not—'mi crónica debe ser contenida, respetuosa y atenerse tan sólo a sucesos y batallas' (1982: 81)—the novel illustrates the conflict between political history and sensory memory.

There are multiple examples in the text of the tension between privileging the narrative of change and action, provided by the battles, or chronicling the quiet experience of everyday life. Despite Urraca's constant hesitation, the mere fact that she mentions all these 'inappropriate' elements incorporates them into her narrativity—and by narrativity I mean her way of presenting and interpreting her narrative. Ortiz's novel suggests that to fully understand the reasons and the decisions that contributed to the queen's incarceration, an account of military victories and defeats is simply not enough.

[72] All the following quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

While Urraca singles herself out as queen—as part of political history in her narration—, it is the prominent themes of love and sex that makes her comparable to other women. The lust of the historical Castilian queen, so often alluded to in history books, is tackled here from a different perspective, as it becomes Roberto's favourite topic:

> No quieres saber de movimientos de tropas, de idas y venidas, de contratos. No es eso lo que te enciende el rostro cuando me escuchas; sé que preferirías que me detuviera y te hablara de nuevo de Gómez González, de Don Pedro de Lara, del propio Alfonso. Te gustan las historias de cama. (1982: 79)

In the novel, these episodes are told by an empowered Urraca who does not hesitate to have sex with the monk himself. She ultimately combines both battles and romantic narratives to tell her story and, in doing so, as Encinar remarks, '[l]a reinvención de los hechos históricos tiene su corolario en la reinvención de los vínculos afectivos' (1994: 96). Urraca seizes her chance to voice her emotional bonds and sexual encounters not as a victim but as an active agent, and thus she challenges the common judgmental view of the queen's sexual appetite in history books by taking ownership of it. Moreover, these episodes are integrated into a chain of political events, alternating with what are usually understood as historical facts, and this makes us perceive H/history differently.

Similarly to what Herzberger highlights about post-war novels, *Urraca* establishes 'a reciprocity between history as a formative component of the self and the self as a formative component of history' (1991: 41). Urraca's backstory becomes an expression of a life shaped by intimate relationships, and grows into a chapter of Spanish history within the parameters of the

novel.

Even though Urraca starts the chronicle with the hope that it will transcend her as an individual and become part of official history, her commitment to narrating her self to herself with only the monk as a bystander eventually suffices. 'A veces pienso que escribo esta historia para mí misma; que nadie, ni juglares ni poetas, la repetirán por los pueblos y las cortes. Pero, cada vez más necesito contar' (1982: 161).

The importance of transmission and the unreliability of memory intersect with the act of narration. Urraca finds that memories can only be recovered by narrating precisely those moments that have left emotional imprints on her:

> sólo la escritura es redentora, porque, aunque mentirosa, reconstruye las sonrisas, revive el odio, la mano que sostiene la espada, la que se agarra al sexo y lo sacude. Todos son gestos, pero ya no escribo para esa historia que debiera reivindicarme; escribo porque estoy sola y tengo frío. (1982: 175-176)

The act of writing her story becomes as important as the purpose of the chronicle. While at the beginning of the novel the protagonist writes about the events that concerned her as queen and states her intention to be truthful about the facts, later she establishes that reality does not manifest itself prior to being given form through textuality; it comes into being through her narrativisation. People and events from the past exist because of her: 'soy yo la que les da la vida, la que les concede el don de la palabra' (1982: 176).

The novel seems to expose how, behind its appearance of impartiality and objectivity, history hinges entirely on the authorial subject. Moreover, if

historical narratives are mediated by language, and, more concretely, by the subjective use of language, then they contain the possibility of manipulation. 'Ellos escribirán la historia a su modo; hablarán de mi locura y mentirán para justificar mi despojamiento y mi encierro' (1982: 12). The novel reflects on the constant struggle for power, or rather for the attainment of that power through narration. Evoking a Foucaultian perspective, power is presented as essentially discursive, mediated by the social practice of language and connected with the production of truth and knowledge. And echoing Benjamin (and refuting hegemonic historians analysed above), Urraca's doubts about the truthfulness of official history support the idea that it memorialises the experiences of the powerful, and that the powerful are those who control hegemonic discursive spaces.

Urraca is then transformed into a 'resisting reader' of this official history and, to create an analogous term here, I would say she also becomes a *resisting writer*. The original term was coined by Judith Fetterley in *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (1978), in which Fetterley echoes a concept of resistance that had become a major object of discussion in the field of cultural studies (see Fluck 2005). Using Hirsch and Smith's description of Fetterley's concept, I would say that as a resisting reader, Urraca interrogates the ideological assumptions that legitimate coherent linear narratives, and questions claims to narrative reliability. And yet it is not only as a reader, but also as a resisting writer, that she ends up documenting the practices of private everyday experience, 'recognizing that they are as politically revealing in their own way as any event played out in the public arena' (Hirsch and Smith 2002: 12).

Even though the queen states that she will have a proper chronicler to

write her story because 'esto que yo he redactado no se parece a una crónica' (1982: 201), what we read are Urraca's words—and not those of a scribe—describing the personal significance of private and public events in the way she remembers them, and balancing political history and sensory memory. As she acknowledges the discursive and contingent nature of her story, she enacts what Linda Hutcheon calls a 'genuine historicity' (Hutcheon 1986-87: 182).

Urraca's narration 'mediates between official and unofficial, masculine and feminine, and fiction and history' (Molinaro 1993: 50) and by occupying this intermediate discursive space, it offers resistance. The protagonist is not just a historical character who will be spoken of by historians, but a figure who re-appropriates the events that she and others experienced and, by making sense of them through writing, she leaves *her* testimony. Her act of claiming authorship of her work makes her an unusual agent of memorial transmission. Her testimony, legitimised in the novel as the most reliable source of information, is an explicitly gendered one because, above all, she is perceived as a woman:

> Yo era gallega y madre, mujer y soberana, parecía evidente que mis deberes y por tanto mis reacciones deberían seguir ese mismo orden […] Mi condición de soberana quedaba así postergada y aparecía como superpuesta, siempre que no entrara en contradicción con cualquiera de mis otros atributos. (1982: 75)

Urraca is 'a novel about a woman who remakes her history and is remade into history' (Molinaro 1993: 50) but also a novel that remakes our way of understanding history itself. Consistent with White's perspective on

the importance of narration in creating meaning—both in historical and in literary writing—, *Urraca* reflects on how history has been transmitted and challenges historiography's appearance of objectivity. Revealing the important role that protagonists have as historical entities, it also denounces the way that women have been consistently excluded from the historical record, and their intimate spaces previously ignored.

The critical approach of *Urraca*, and the emphasis that it places on the personal, makes the reader question the very notions of 'power' and 'historicity' beyond the twelfth century, pointing to 'la posible influencia de la version histórica en la futura determinación del mundo real' (Encinar 1994: 97). An awareness of how past events are perceived and retold is extremely relevant to an understanding of the *process/discourse* of the Transition: the depiction of historical episodes by or from the perspective of the 'losers' acts as a counter-narrative that combats the aims of totalising narratives of the present and opens the door to alternative futures, which include the voices of those who have not spoken before, and which create alternative expectations for a democratic Spain, something we will explore in Chapter Two.

2. *L'hora violeta,* remembering as an act of love and justice

The relationships between memory and history, subjectivity and representation also characterise Roig's novels. According to Akiko Tsuchiya, many of Roig's works 'dramatise the process by which private narratives and fictions of socially marginalised or otherwise decentered individuals may be used to create an oppositional notion of collective history' (1998: 164). The novel in which Roig most clearly engages with the relationship between

fiction and memory/history in opposition to the narrative of the pact of forgetting is *L'hora violeta*.

The entire novel is a hybrid of forms, including letters, testimony, and memoir/autobiography: 'none of which has an absolute epistemological privilege' (Tsuchiya 1998: 164). Its multiple and fragmented nature illustrates the process of remembering and also reminds us of the impossibility of a totalising master narrative that would explain the text as a whole. Moreover, the novel reveals the subjectivity of narration through its constantly changing perspectives, alternating between first person, third person, and stream of consciousness narration.

As we saw in Ortiz's novel, memories are distinctively intimate since they usually come from personal experiences, and are bound up with a narrativity that is subjective. In the beginning of *L'hora violeta*, Natàlia says '*[c]onstruía el recuerdo según mis propias sensaciones y creaba mi propio ritmo*' (Italics in the original. Roig 1986b: 15).[73] While this individual rhythm initially seems to be non-transferable—'el tiempo de la memoria interior no tiene nada que ver con el tiempo de la historia' (1986b: 110)—it can actually relate to the collective through narration.

Following Natàlia's reasoning:

> todo está hecho a base de recortes seleccionados, que poco a poco van formando una narración íntima, la del recuerdo. Y el orden que siguen los recuerdos dentro de la memoria no es nunca cronológico ni coherente. Si aciertas, las

[73] All the following quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

> palabras a veces te ayudan a enlazarlos para formar con ellos una 'historia'. (1986b: 111)

Because the Spanish word 'historia' means both 'history' and 'story'—and the double meaning is made explicit here by Roig with the inverted commas—intimate memories (sensory memory) and formal history (political history) overlap in writing, resulting in a more complex H/history.

In the novel, Natàlia—who is a photographer and says that she is envious of Norma for her capacity to write—meditates on the relationship between memory/history and literature/fiction:

> *Creo que no somos capaces de valorar la realidad hasta que ésta no se convierte en recuerdo. Como si así quisiéramos volver a vivir. Por eso creo que la literatura todavía tiene un sentido. La literatura no es historia. La literatura inventa el pasado basándose en unos cuantos detalles que fueron reales, aunque sólo lo fueran en nuestra mente*. (Italics in the original. 1986b: 15)

Like Urraca, Natàlia realises that memories do not exist prior to their narrativisation, and, moreover, that it is narrativisation that brings the past into the present, conditioning (and giving value to) events.

Literature fills in the gaps that history leaves behind in the process of creating a factual narrative: '[e]l orden de la imaginación se sale de todos los datos, de todos los hechos. Ésta es la venganza de la literatura contra la Historia' (1986b: 111). The fact that 'history is composed of fragments of memory', compels the reader to an exercise of interpretation, to 'reassemble the pieces into a clear and unified historical narrative' (Brenneis 1999: 668).

Through imagination, literature jeopardises History (with a capital letter, the one written by men) by creating counter-narratives that include individual 'historias'. According to Geraldine Nichols, both in her testimonial and her fictional writing:

> [n]o fiándose de la Historia para contar la experiencia vivida, Roig recurrió a otra fuente para indagar el pasado: la memoria. […] Se propuso recuperar voces perdidas a través de la investigación y de la imaginación, proporcionando de esa manera nuevas perspectivas que conformaran una historia más inclusiva del siglo XX en Cataluña. (2006: 548)

What triggers the plot of *L'hora violeta* is the fact that Natàlia gives her friend Norma the task of writing a novel about her mother and her mother's friend. 'Un día, Natàlia me dio algunas notas que había escrito sobre su tía, Patricia Miralpeix, y también algunas cartas de Kati y el Diario de Judit Fléchier, su madre' (1986b: 13). As mentioned above, *L'hora violeta* aimed to rescue that which men's History had blurred, condemned or idealised. Recording these women's testimonies, and thus saving their memories from silence, is presented from the very beginning of the novel as one way of making History more complete, and at the same time of changing its very nature.

Norma's first answer to Natàlia's request is no. 'Yo había terminado un largo libro sobre los catalanes en los campos nazis, y la verdad es que no me habían quedado ganas de remover el pasado. La historia de la deportación me dejó medio enferma y escéptica' (1986b: 13). The character is referering to

Els Catalans als camps nazis (1977),[74] a three-year research project that Montserrat Roig published three years before *L'hora violeta*. Sara Brenneis states that '[t]he novel is noticeably concerned with many of the same issues Roig grapples with in her historiographical work, to the point of overt and intentional overlap' (2009: 667).

Like other characters in the novel—and like many members of Spanish society—what Norma wants is to forget. She wants to file away the part of history that she has written about: 'La historia había quedado archivada en su libro, éste era su homenaje, ¿qué más querían?' (1986b: 267). But, as I argued above, to bring remembrance to a conclusion is already a form of forgetting. According to Roig, the work of memory is always far from being finished, and has to be 'continuada, revisada y ampliada' (1978: 23).

Remembering entails responsibility and leads to grief: Jordi, Natàlia's ex-lover, says that remembering feels like 'cargar la losa de la historia sobre nuestros hombros' (1986b: 83). Norma's concern (or burden) is, however, not History—i.e. ideas and facts—but 'las personas que conocía, convertidas en fantasmas que siempre tendría que acarrear consigo' (1986b: 225). So, in order to forget, Norma would have to dismiss not history but people, which is why, although she is envious of those who are able to forget the past, is nonetheless reluctant to do it. She repeatedly wonders: '¿era justo olvidar?' (1986b: 225). This question echoes Reyes Mate's reflection about the injustice of ignoring what has failed, and it creates an ethical imperative that haunts Norma throughout the entire novel and which is key to understanding Roig's perspective on memory.

[74] This work was awarded the Critics' Prize 'Serra d'Or' in 1977 for best historical reportage. It was reprinted in 2001.

When Norma first decides to chronicle the deportation of Catalans to the aforementioned Nazi camps, she is determined to do so in an 'objective' way. She contacts one of the victims: 'le escribió una carta *correcta y distanciada*: "Estimado señor: creo que la historia de la deportación de nuestros compatriotas tiene que ser contada, no la podemos desterrar de la memoria colectiva..."' (Emphasis added. 1986b: 226). Norma aims to include the deportees' stories in the collective memory and potentially make them part of the official history. However, the intended distance/objectivity–that was also a requirement of the chronicle genre described above in relation to *Urraca* and which is Norma's intention expressed by the style of the letter–is soon discarded.

Firstly, Norma's attempt to keep these individual memories intact as she incorporates them into the collective memory comes up against mediation when, in spite of aspiring to document historical truth, Norma is confronted by the deportee's insistence on the impossibility of doing so: 'la ayudó como nadie. […] no le ocultó nada. Le contó todo lo que sabía. Pero no dejaba de repetirle: "—La verdad, no la sabrá nunca"' (1986b: 233). The deportee warns Norma that her story is doubly mediated, because of the inevitable distance between his experience and his ensuing narration of it, which will in turn become the basis for Norma's subsequent narrative.

Secondly, although Norma was never in Mauthausen or Ravensbrück—nor did she take part in the Civil War (which occurred years before she was born) or in any harrowing experience of the kind—as soon as she resolves to write about stories of those who did, she becomes a recipient of their memories and confessions. According to María Zambrano, when we read 'una confesión auténtica […] sentimos repetirse aquello en nosotros mismos,

y si no lo repetimos no logramos la meta de su secreto' (Quoted by Samblancat 1997: 5). Not many details of the deportees' testimonies that Roig collected are incorporated into her novel, but the text constantly suggests that Norma becomes a site through which their feelings are re-enacted: 'todo ese pasado que no había vivido pero que le habían hecho sentir como propio' (1986b: 225). Far from being an objective process, remembering is an act of empathy, an act of love.[75]

The deep connection to past events that have not been experienced in first person is theorised by Marianne Hirsh under the helpful term 'postmemory'. This term describes the relationship that the 'generation after' maintains with the personal, collective, and *cultural memory* of those who have experienced traumatic events. These experiences, transmitted affectively through stories, images or behaviours, have such a deep impact on the recipients that they seem to constitute memories in their own right (see Hirsch 1992-93) which takes the form of a second skin for Norma: 'las penas de los demás y los recuerdos se iban acumulando hasta formar una segunda piel' (1986b: 210).

Postmemory involves a re-enactment of emotions—Norma 'convivía con las penas de los ex deportados' (1986b: 240)—and this makes it impossible for her to confine herself to factuality, differentiating Norma from those other colleagues of whom she is envious precisely because they 'describían la realidad lo mismo que el médico forense manipula el cuerpo de un muerto. Desde fuera, sin comprometerse con el cadáver más allá de lo estrictamente necesario para la ciencia y, en este caso, para la Historia'

[75] In *Digues que m'estimes encara que sigui mentida*, quoting Joseph Brodsky, Roig states that: 'si existe un acto de amor, éste es la memoria' (1993: 19).

(1986b: 240). Once she commits herself to telling individual stories, writing becomes an emotional struggle with History.

Sara Brenneis talks about the 'emotional forces of skepticism, incredulity, acceptance and belief' (1999: 669) that Norma and Natàlia, in channeling the experience of historians and their professional challenge, move among in their quest to understand the past In her interpretation, Brenneis underscores the 'human dimension' of the novel, whose thematic thread is 'history made personal' (1999: 671).

Following Avishai Margalit's distinction between morality and ethics, we can say that, for Norma, what starts as a moral project ends as an ethical imperative. According to Margalit, morality 'ought to guide our behavior toward those to whom we are related just by virtue of their being fellow human beings' (2004: 37), a kind of relation that he classifies as 'thin'. 'Thick' relations, on the other hand, depend on a personal-emotional link and these guide ethics. If, in the beginning, Norma investigates the deportation of 'nuestros compatriotas', she soon starts looking into the tragic experiences of 'las personas que conocía', and thus her initial 'thin' relation with the deportees becomes a 'thick' one in the process of narration.

The relationship between Norma and the former deportee (the one that has been individualised in the novel as her main source of information) evolves throughout the novel. First, he is compared to other friends, but still referred to in moral terms: 'Norma no podía ponerse al margen del mundo del ex deportado sin sentirse culpable. Como no se había querido poner al margen del mundo de […] todos los hombres que habían perdido a lo largo de la Historia' (1986b: 245); later, he is referred to individually. When Norma receives a phone call from a friend of the former deportee to inform her about

the old man's death, he says: 'dijo que usted era amiga suya y que había algunas cosas que usted no iba a olvidar' (1986b: 280).

Norma's research project mirrors Roig's, and in carrying it out Norma becomes a medium through which a collective consciousness is expressed. In Roig's words (which also reminds us of Montero's preface to the 30th anniversary edition of *Crónica del desamor*): 'todos los testigos no han dudado en hacerme llegar su voz. En realidad, este libro no es más que la coordinación de todas estas voces: todas ellas forman una convincente presencia colectiva' (1978: 23). The 'historia' of the deportees that Norma indirectly refers to in *L'hora violeta* is the product of individual stories and testimonies brought together to form a plural narrative.

The recollection of a number of equally valid memories, formed simultaneously about the same events, and which all play a similar role within the whole, reminds us that history, like politics, 'is not necessarily a top-down heroic venture' (Sommer 1988: 118). In its horizontality, the recollection of memories is a democratic exercise. The testimonial form produces a sense of involvement, and it not only brings the invisible to light, but also makes thin relations become thick.

This is why, during the Transition, the pact of forgetting allowed people to construct a master narrative of the past, but it impeded their ability to put together a public record of individual stories:

> [s]olo recuerdos de infancia y de familia, y no todo el mundo. Lo social e histórico, lo que hay de personal en todo drama colectivo y lo que hay de colectivo en todo drama personal, descartados. Sin protagonistas, no hay tragedia. (Morán 2015: 72)

As Gregorio Morán points out here, individual stories told by sensory memory and not political history are the ones that truly reveal the tragic aspects of the past, and allow people to identify with them. To avoid facing these tragic aspects, people's memories were domesticated and privatised.

When first reading the notes, letters and diaries by Judit, Kati and Patricia, Norma has access to their most intimate thoughts and feelings which generates in her feelings of empathy and it is precisely the feelings of empathy that Zambrano highlights as the core of the confession; it is this re-enactment of the feelings of others that initially stops Norma from carrying out Natàlia's request. But the intimate stories of Judit and Kati become relevant because they would resonate with the stories of so many others:

> ¿Cómo era, de verdad, Kati? ¿Y Judit? ¿O las he inventado yo? No, las Mundetas no eran una invención. Encuentras una en cada esquina. Tampoco lo es tía Patricia. Son los fantasmas que no pudieron hablar cuando estaban vivos y que ahora vienen a contármelo todo. (1986b: 260)

Norma's commitment to recovering the untold stories of the oppressed, the excluded, and the marginalised exceeds her intellectual project. Firstly, as an act of love, it becomes personal. Secondly, the recovery of stories affects the possibilities open to her in her own life. In the introduction of *Els Catalans als camps nazis* (1977), Roig affirms that:

> [e]l silencio que han hecho flotar por encima de los republicanos catalanes y de los españoles en general, de los vencidos de la guerra, me ha parecido, muy a menudo, un silencio que querían extender por encima de los míos y de mí misma. (Roig 1978: 19)

An inversion of this idea is also possible: if some are allowed to speak, others can be heard as well.

The need expressed by the author here resonates with the desire to bridge the Second Republic and the Transition, discussed above. Roig continues: 'Veía que si no devolvíamos la palabra a los que debieron tenerla cuando les tocaba, nosotros no podríamos tenerla en su totalidad' (Roig 1978: 19). Echoing Roig, Norma realises that to forget what she has not lived (but is able to feel) would mean 'olvidarme de mí misma' (1986b: 225), hence she remembers not only in order to give voice to the voiceless of the past, but also to be able to have a voice in the present and in the future. Concluding that to forget not only is indeed unjust but also would erase her own voice, Norma decides to write Judit and Kati's story.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tackled the first official narrative of the Transition: the pact of forgetting. During a time when people were encouraged to forget, the authors in this study open what Palerm—in her discussion of Roig's *El Temps de les Cireres*—describes as 'a symbolic space of thinking in political terms' (2004: 161). In an act of resistance to official rhetoric that called for the past to be left behind, these authors' novels recreate the past in a way that engages with the intimate relationship between fiction, the retrieval of memories and the fallacies of official history.

I have focused on how these authors' novels addressed aspects of the past which official histories had previously kept hidden, and I have connected their work with a global tendency in the 1970s to promote 'history from

below'. These novels demonstrate a commitment—understood by their authors as moral responsibility—to fill in the gaps of historiographical writing from which women's stories had formerly been excluded. I have interpreted these novelists' attempts to create stories as a metonymical approach that does not claim epistemological authority to speak on behalf of other women—and thus to act as substitutes for them. Instead, with this metonymical approach, these authors prioritise giving voice to the voiceless, having been silenced themselves. In contrast with official history, whose narration consists of a series of landmark events that serve to create an artificial collective memory, I have analysed these novelists' use of sensory memory as a device to create a diverse continuum.

I have engaged with debates over the recovery of historical memory that have been gaining prominence since 2000, and I have found many of the movement's concerns in the novels in this study.

In an ongoing hermeneutic battle that is focused more on morals than on facts, it is evident that one of the most important consequences of recovering the past is the legitimisation of individual memories in the public sphere. And it is through this capacity to empower individuals, I have argued, that fiction is most influential. By articulating their characters' personal perceptions and experiences, the novels give individuals the right to speak and to remember, and this constitutes an empowering act. The multiplicity of stories contained in these novels gives the personal experiences they depict a significance for the collective, taking them beyond the intimate sphere where the *domestication/privatisation* of memory, promoted by the pact of forgetting, had left them confined.

The novels also engage with the Second Republic and the Civil War—especially from a female perspective—and defend the values of a failed democratic project. As they give meaning to this period's aims, the novels link them to their present and thus incorporate them into the collective imagination.

Memory is seen in this chapter as a form of knowledge that differs from history, in the sense that the knowledge derived from memory is oriented towards an intervention in the present. In an analysis of Spanish contemporary fiction, Ann Walsh states that '[t]he past, and here in particular we talk about Spain's historic past, has been vital in shaping the identity of Spain's contemporary present' (2017: 4). I have argued that, by intersecting questions of narrativisation, historical reliability, emotions and power, at the juncture of the individual and the collective, the novels of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz are essential to the actualisation and realisation of the *cultural memory* of the Spanish Transition in today's context.

Chapter 2. The Depiction of the Winners' Consensus and the Losers' Sacrifice

Historically women have rarely been included in political projects in Spain—and the Transition was no exception. After the Constitution was approved in a referendum on 6 December 1978, the Platform of Feminist Organisations in Madrid—which had previously developed a feminist democratic agenda—declared:

> No está claro que ésta sea la Constitución de la concordia y del consenso. Tampoco está claro que sea la Constitución de todos los españoles. Pero lo que sí está claro es que no es la Constitución de las españolas. (Quoted in Varela 2013)

Women who spoke for other women and made feminist claims were neither inside nor outside the *process/discourse*. After clarifying that when he uses the term 'mujer' here he refers not to an essence but to 'aquellos grupos que actuaban como sus portavoces', Ramón Buckley argues that:

> la mujer es capaz de detectar los fallos de un proceso político en el que ella se siente 'convidado de piedra': la mujer 'toma la palabra', no sólo para expresar sus propias reivindicaciones, sino para ejercer una labor crítica con respecto a la transformación política y social que se estaba produciendo en España. (1996: XV)

These spokeswomen were able to detect the failures of the political process because they spoke from its margins.[76]

If we agree with bell hooks that a site of deprivation can also be 'a central location for the production of a counter-hegemonic discourse,' (1989: 20) then the earliest works of women writers can be read as spaces of resistance.

Franco's dictatorship was essentially fascist, and the dominance of men and proliferation of misogynist attitudes under his regime made it inherently patriarchal. Spain's democracy, in contrast to much of postwar Europe, was not constructed on an anti-fascist consensus, nor was it built on an anti-patriarchal/anti-machista initiative. This anti-fascist and anti-patriarchal consensus which members of a growing feminist movement are actively demanding today,[77] was also pushed for during the Transition. In this context it is logical to state, with Catherine Davies, that '[f]iction by women in Spain which articulates female experience is necessarily non-hegemonic' (1994: 5).

I argue that the novels written during this period by Montserrat Roig, Esther Tusquets, Lourdes Ortiz and Rosa Montero contest the hegemonic representation of a male-dominated *process/discourse* and approached the narrative of the consensus from a very particular standpoint: that of a 'testigo

[76] In similar terms, Sara Ahmed speaks about feminist practice as a destabilizer of liberal humanism: 'given that liberal feminism reveals that the construction of a universal, intrinsic right has entailed processes of exclusion and selection (that universal suffrage equals male suffrage) it exposes humanism as an ideological legitimation of power (perhaps despite itself)' (1996: 74).

[77] Some of the most remarkable examples of these massive mobilisations against institutional patriarchy have been the unprecedented feminist strike on the 8 March 2018, supported by over 5 million people, which was intended to highlight sexual discrimination, domestic violence and the wage gap (Jones S. 2018a: online), or the street protests that lasted several days starting on 26 April 2018 against the verdicts on the case of 'la Manada'—the five men had been accused of the gang rape of a teenager during San Fermines in Pamplona two years earlier but were found guilty of the lesser offence of sexual abuse (Jones S. 2018b: online).

sospechoso'. In 1936 Victoria Ocampo, echoing Virginia Woolf, highlighted the fact that women had spoken of themselves very little, while men had spoken of women extensively as 'testigos que la ley no aceptaría, pues los calificaría de sospechosos'(1936: 67). Ocampo continues by arguing that it was time for women not only to speak for themselves but also to 'hablar del hombre, a su vez, en calidad de testigo sospechoso' (1936: 67). I want to articulate my authors' critical perspective on the consensus (or, more precisely, on the narrative of consensus, as discussed above), through their views as 'testigos sospechosos' of the men of the Transition.

I am interested in how the novels represent the different ways in which male characters—contemporaries of the authors in this study—experienced the dictatorship and arrived at the Transition, becoming either 'winners' or 'losers' of the consensus. While most male characters are portrayed as having been involved in the anti-Francoist struggle, once Franco's death was imminent, their reactions differed: they either adapted or refused to adapt to the new circumstances, especially when confronted by the dichotomy between *reforma* or *ruptura*.[78] In his study *Culpables por la literatura*, Labrador uses an expression coined by Eduardo Haro Tecglen in 1988, 'generación bífida', to describe this phenomenon of divergence.

According to Haro Tecglen, in this bifurcation '[u]nos llegan al poder, otros a la muerte.'[79] On one hand we have 'la raza favorecida de los

[78] During the Transition, there was a well-know dichotomy between *reforma* or *ruptura*. *Ruptura* meant fully breaking away from the Francoist regime and its dictatorial politics, and aiming to create a free and democratic system immediately. Through *reforma,* Spanish institutions managed a gradual transition from military dictatorship towards parliamentary monarchy.

[79] The deeply tragic tone of the article is explained by the fact that his own son Eduardo Haro Ibars—an underground poet, forerunner of the Spanish gay movement, and critical analyst in different media—had contracted AIDS in relation to the consumption of drugs and died prematurely three months before.

adaptados', those who made the most opportune decisions, who 'eligen trajes y corbatas de buen paño y buena seda, tienen asesores de imagen, cambian de esposas en busca de la riqueza, la elegancia o la popularidad, […] y ocupan los vigorosos puestos delegados del poder' (Haro Tecglen 1988: online). On the other hand, there are the 'inadaptados', social misfits who 'vagan por los centros sanitarios pidiendo ayuda' (Haro Tecglen 1988: online). The vital difference between these groups is that while the former had adapted their ideology to a sociopolitical context that valued continuity, the latter wanted to do the opposite:

> La naturaleza ha seleccionado a los más fuertes, quizá gracias al meritorio esfuerzo de éstos por adaptarse a lo previamente existente […] y la lucha por la vida les ha dado el poder. Los otros, los caínes de aquella fraternidad—o tratados como caínes—, cometieron el error de querer adaptar la sociedad a sus ideologías. (Haro Tecglen 1988: online)

Labrador draws on the explanatory power of this 'relato bífido de la transición' (2017: 107), in his discussion of novels like Rafael Chirbes' *Mimoun* (1988), which was written with the idea of a *generación bífida* in mind, as the author himself affirms:

> Habla de un personaje de lo que Haro Ibars denominó 'la generación bífida': con la llegada de los socialdemócratas al poder, que pertenecían a una generación autodenominada 'del 68', conocimos delincuentes y ministros sentados juntos, trepas que acabaron en puestos de la Administración y otros metidos en la heroína. Decía que el protagonista de

> mi libro es un perdedor de esa generación porque no se apuntó al oportunismo. (Quoted in Labrador 2017: 126-7)

After clarifying that the expression is not Haro Ibars' but his father's, Labrador praises the prescience of Chirbes's stance, and he expresses surprise at the discovery that as early as 1988 'era posible percibir los posibles conflictos que latían bajo la poética propia de la democracia consensual' (Labrador 2017: 127). This was evident, however, even before 1988, and it is my aim to show it in some of my authors' novels.

In this chapter, I tackle the conflicts hidden within what Alberto Medina ironically calls 'el feliz mundo del consenso' (2000: 30) through the expectations and personal trajectories (mainly) of the *sesentayochistas*. I will analyse the portrayal of these male characters as either winners (those who made the consensus) or losers (those who struggled during and after the process) of the Transition, depending on how they adapt themselves to the changes that took place, and I will do so by engaging with the official narrative of the consensus.[80]

When studying men by women writers in contemporary Spanish novel, Joan Brown comprises two categories: stereotypes and heroes (1992: 56-7). Alma Amell analyses male characters specifically in the first five novels published by Rosa Montero and classifies three types: 'hombres-globo' or 'señoritos de mierda', 'marginados' and 'los que intentan salvar lo que puedan de los valores existenciales que se derrumban ante sus ojos' (1992a: 105-6). My categorisation of male characters in winners and losers of the Transition as depicted by women in their role of 'testigos sospechosos' is less

[80] Although a more analytical perspective on the representation of masculinity/masculinities would be pertinent, that would require a whole additional study.

related to psychological traits. I intend to highlight their presence as an expression of the sociopolitical context within the aforementioned 'generación bífida'.

Let us first examine how this narrative of the consensus was constructed as part of the *process/discourse* and deconstructed by today's critics, so we can establish the desired dialogue between the argumentative/real and the literary/fictive worlds when further analysing the novels. I will then explore how the novels both fill in the gaps of what the narrative of conflict-erasure does not tell and support the reticence that the 'espíritu de la Transición' evokes today, understanding the imposition of the narrative of the consensus in terms of a 'new legitimate symbolic violence' (Cardús i Ros 2000: 27) in the post-dictatorial context.

According to the hegemonic discourse of the Spanish Transition, the relationship between the pact of forgetting and the consensus was necessarily one of cause and effect. Even though the Spanish collective imagination was haunted by the Civil War and by Francoist repression, the *process/discourse* conveyed a clear message: memory was futile and would only lead to resentment, never to 'reconciliation', which had been made a top priority. In short, memory would interfere with the process of reform and impede the establishment of democracy.

But even intellectuals who were close to the transitional process interpreted this cause-and-effect logic as a politically biased strategy. Elías Díaz (tightly linked to the PSOE), observed as he reflected back on the political culture of the Spanish transition that 'the repression of the past is no basis on which to build a healthy, *participatory* democracy' (Emphasis added. 1995: 288). One of the questions that will be examined in this chapter is how

the relationship between the domestication/privatisation of memory and the consensus created a representative rather than a participatory democracy.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, the need for mourning and reparation that part of society felt after the Civil War could have been answered by the recovery of historical memory and the construction of a *cultural memory* able to transmit it, but doing so would have forced the State to accept the political nature of the war's violence and the reprisals suffered by men and women during the dictatorship. Instead, the State identified people across society as equal victims of suffering, reducing the war and post-war reprisals to private experiences, and thus saving itself from having to condemn atrocities at an institutional level. As Ricard Vinyes explains: 'el sujeto-víctima ha sido utilizado por los Estados democráticos para establecer y consolidar la ideología del consenso y la reconciliación, instaurando esas políticas de la víctima como sucedáneos de las políticas públicas de la memoria' (2011: 24).

This narrative of equal suffering that supported the consensus during the Transition had already been shaped under the dictatorship and used by the regime as it interacted with other states on an international level, both in an economic and a political context. As Paloma Aguilar explains, when Spain opened its borders and began to interact politically with other nations, the recurrent metaphysical argument that the legitimacy of Franco's dictatorship derived from its supposed status as 'la reserva espiritual de Occidente' (the spiritual reserve of the West) was seen as Manichean and became highly ineffective. A different narrative was then required and that is when the term 'reconciliation' first publicly came into play, associating the memory of the war with political stability and economic progress, and 'legitimising the

régime further by appealing to the results of its administration (performance-based legitimacy) rather than its origins (origin-based legitimacy)' (Aguilar, P. 2002: 25).[81]

The narrative about the war then had to change: Francoists stopped boasting about their victory and began to accept shared responsibility, admitting that the military forces rebelled in 1936 against a legitimately elected government. They insisted, however, on arguing that they did so because of the need to save large sectors of the population—who, according to them, were justifiably alarmed—from the constant threat of the extreme Left and the incompetence of the politicians in charge. This rhetoric spread widely amongst the generation growing up under the last phase of Francoism, meaning that when the Transition started, 'agreement as to what the war had actually meant and which lessons should be drawn from it had already been reached, somewhat spontaneously, some years earlier' (Aguilar, P. 2002: 31).

The *process/discourse* of the Transition created a connection between the Francoist narrative of 'reconciliation' and the 'never again' consensus. It also prevented those responsible for crimes from being punished by establishing an overarching impunity through the 1977 Amnesty, which was meant to resolve the conflict between winners and losers of the war once and for all.

The fact that the narrative of reconciliation (equal suffering, tragic inevitability, shared responsibility) was consolidated in the 'never again' consensus enabled a 'reconstrucción democrática sin tener que someter a una

[81] For many historians, any prosperity under Franco's dictatorship had little or nothing to do with the regime's administration, quite the opposite: it happened *in spite of* it and thanks to other factors like remittance from Spanish emigrants and increasing tourism. See e.g. Viñas (2015).

purga el cuerpo administrativo y funcionarial heredado' (Quaggio 2014: 200), and made it possible for those former Franco politicians—'desarrollistas' and 'aperturistas'[82]—to claim legitimacy and assume leading roles in the process of transition. Whether this process led to the refusal to demand accountability or was the result of it, the outcome is the same.

Critics in accordance with the historical memory movement, however, argue that the equation of the two sides shows an unacceptable lack of historical rigour which has serious consequences. Now, after decades of reliable publications about the history of the Civil War—and especially after the 90s, when the historical archives were officially opened (although access to them was not always granted)—these historians affirm that: 'sabemos que la España del Frente Popular no estaba conspirando, ni la clase obrera estaba armada, ni existía un problema terrorista' (Moreno 1999: 18). Such findings refute the usual arguments used to justify the military uprising. But the *process/discourse* prevented this historical knowledge from reaching the general public, and the all-to-blame platitudes have been repeated by revisionists, blocking arguments that distinguish between democratic and unconstitutional actions and between the right to self-defence and resistance and systematic violence.

On one hand, for many critics, '[l]o que el tan traído y llevado "espíritu de la transición" hizo prevalecer fueron tópicos rancios como que *la guerra fue inevitable*, algo así como una especie de catástrofe natural o que *todos fueron iguales*' (Italics in the original. Espinosa 2007: 10); on the other, such

[82] 'Desarrollismo' is the term to name the years when the 'Planes de Desarrollo Económico y Social' were being applied. These Stabilisation Plans aimed to help Spain abandon the autarchical trade practices that had isolated its economy from the rest of Europe. 'Aperturismo' named the opening-up of Spain's autarchy.

'espíritu de la Transición' is evoked to symbolise the full participation of society in a process of understanding, of reconciliation between the winners and losers of the Civil War, of agreement between Francoists and anti-Francoists.[83]

Those who take a critical view of the consensus argue that it projected an illusion of cohesion. Alberto Medina, evoking the performative sense of the word 'representación' (in Spanish) refers to the transitional agreement in the following terms: 'Se trata fundamentalmente de "representar" el consenso ante los españoles y construir un esquema espectacular de cohesión social' (2002: 28).[84] This acting out of the consensus on the part of the winners of the Transition is cleverly illustrated by our authors (and their narrators as 'testigos sospechosos'), as we will see below.

This reconciliatory framework of 'el feliz mundo del consenso' is one of the stickiest narratives of the Spanish transition. The portrayal in the media of these politicians' manoeuvres took on a symbolic significance (not merely a political one) and this explains why:

> lo que en un principio se asumió como un consenso político—dictado por la situación y la necesidad, y asumido

[83] When Argentinian judge María Servini asked to interrogate 19 officials from the Franco regime, the Office of the Attorney General warned that she was not the one to question the political process that followed Franco's dictatorship with this resounding statement: 'La transición fue voluntad del pueblo español.' The message appeared in a letter from Consuelo Madrigal (Attorney General) to the provincial prosecutors stating that they should oppose Servini's petition (Agueda and Precedo 2016: online).

[84] One of the most remarkable spectacles that perfectly illustrates this 'representación' was the return of important public figures from exile: 'El clima de ilusión y expectativas que generaba cada personaje que volvía se intensificó todavía más en virtud de las políticas oficiales que potenciaban la dimensión emotiva, simbólica y, sobre todo, mediática, de la llegada del exiliado con funciones de identificación y pacificación colectiva' (Quaggio 2014: 238) . The repatriation of exiles—especially those like Rafael Alberti or Dolores Ibárruri, who had been directly connected to the political opposition during the dictatorship—was used by the government to signify that consensus had been reached.

> por tanto como mal menor—se manifiesta hoy de modo rutinario e invariable como uno ideológico, esto es, interiorizado como propio y sentido como un valor. (Urdánoz 2013: online)

The identification of society with these politicians ultimately enabled the emergence of a *representative* democracy that confined the political to the sphere of political parties, a sphere in which the parties were meant to represent society as a whole.[85]

While Medina interprets this as a form of metonymy—'[l]a élite política se autoconstituye en metonimia de la comunidad y da paso a la representación de un meticuloso drama de reconciliación nacional' (Medina, A. 2002: 28)—I see a metaphorical approach, in line with the metonymy/metaphor tension discussed in Chapter One. That is to say, the State's intention was not so much to represent society (in a metonymical move: the political parties are illustrative of the different sectors in society) as to appropriate its agency (metaphorically: the political parties take the place of society thanks to its symbolic significance), impeding a *participatory* democracy.

Some critics, such as Ferrán Gallego, interpret this metaphoric appropriation in tragic terms: 'se acepta la destrucción de la sociedad por su

[85] The expression 'espíritu de la Transición', evoked to signify agreement and participation, has been brought back nowadays especially by the leaders of conservative neoliberal political parties. 'En este país se hizo un gran esfuerzo en la Transición y hoy, *a los españoles*, nos toca hacer otra vez lo mismo' (Emphasis added. Castro 2016: online). These are the words of Albert Rivera, leader of the political party *Ciudadanos*, when signing a pact with the Secretary-General of the PSOE, Pedro Sánchez, in February 2016. After the general elections in December 2015 no party had obtained an absolute majority, and no government had been formed. This pact was an attempt to bring about the investiture of the Socialist candidate, which did not go through. Rivera's words are an attempt to emphasise the participation of *los españoles* (meaning the whole of society) in the agreements. However, the negotiations went on for ten months after the general elections and, like in the Transition, became a series of private and strategic meetings among party leaders.

propia representación, que es el estado. Entonces la representación es lo que pasa a tener existencia, mientras que aquello que dio lugar a todo el proceso, la sociedad, deja de existir' (interview in Labrador Méndez and Sánchez León 2014: 92-93). The consequence of this was indeed a limited representative democracy (rather than a participatory one) whose authority has come under suspicion: it is no coincidence that the most popular slogan of the 15-M was 'no nos representan', a perfect contemporary echo of the transitional 'desencanto', as we will see in the analysis of the outsiders in Ortiz's *Arcángeles* or when exploring the losers of the Transition below.

The political class—in conjunction with an economic elite of bankers, building contractors and businessmen—believed (and made others believe with the help of some sections of the media) that the transitional process was entirely in their hands and that public opinion had to be expressed solely through elections. 'Confunden "votación" con "participación". Se genera así un espíritu de grupo, de clase o de "casta" (en el sentido orteguiano del término)' (Buckley 1996: XVII). A system based on periodic elections (and not on social mobilisation), which was put in place by the 'casta', constituted democracy in post-Franco Spain.[86]

The consensus, seen as a pact of the political 'casta', fits into the concept of 'elite settlement', theorised by John Higley and Michael Burton in their *Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy*. Elite settlements are 'events in which warring national elite factions suddenly and deliberately reorganize

[86] So much so, that the term 'casta' resonates today, having regained prominence with the leaders of the political party *Podemos* who used it frequently (especially during the founding of the party). Removed from the more complex meaning given by Ortega, nowadays the term defines a group of politicians who serve a very powerful minority of bankers, businessmen, etc. (also part of the 'casta') instead of being of service to society at large.

their relations by negotiating compromises on their most basic disagreements' (Burton and Higley 1987: 295). In the introduction, we saw the consensus described in similar terms ('la suma de muchas renuncias') by Miquel Roca, one of the fathers of the Constitution.[87]

The transitional process entailed an increasing separation between the negotiations that took place among the elite in private, and the way these negotiations were projected in public, and this caused a devaluation of the Transition's political language. 'De cara a la galería, los distintos partidos llevan a cabo una radicalización verbal de sus posturas que no corresponde en absoluto a sus intenciones reales' (Medina A. 2000: 32)—a disconnection we will see exposed and denounced in Roig's *L'hora violeta*. In constructing the narrative of a system that could fulfil the democratic hopes of Spanish society, the leaders of the Transition were—in their own best interests—aiming to create one that could be recognised as preferable to dictatorship.

Although in the public debates the *ruptura* was not entirely dismissed, the private negotiations among the political elite—which ultimately resulted in the consensus—was shaped as a *reforma*. 'Reform rather than *ruptura* meant that *franquista* attitudes lingered on in many areas of public life. It meant that vital changes could not be carried out, or else had to be done very slowly' (Italics in the original. Gilmour 1985: 270-271). In my literary analysis, I will read these '*vital* changes' in a double sense: changes that were

[87] Those who believe that 'pactmen'—the elite, the 'casta'—are responsible for negotiations and assume that the compromises they make are a precondition for a desirable, representative democracy, see the case of Spain as the very model of modern elite settlement, and judge that 'Spanish elites were particularly pragmatic and skillful' (Desfor 1995: 362). The pragmatic philosophy of 'I'll scratch your back if you scratch mine' created a 'transition from above' or 'transition through transaction' (Desfor 1995: 358) that reduced the transitional process to a series of strategic manoeuvres.

essential for democracy as a collective project but also in relation to people's (characters') *lives* as narrated in the novels.

Ever since the beginnings of democracy in Spain (and still today), bottom-up processes of democratic consolidation have been considered undesirable by the Spanish establishment, which has consistently privileged 'aquellas interpretaciones que establecen una relación negativa entre sociedad civil y democratización' (Martín García 2014: 196). In spite of all the new democratic spaces created towards the end of the Francoist period and at the beginning of the Transition—'espacios que cobijaron una amplia gama de actividades independientes […] que permitieron a sus participantes explorar nuevos hábitos relacionales e ideas democráticas' (Martín García 2014: 197)—these forums were only found at the margins of power structures.

This negative perception of bottom-up processes of democratic consolidation affected Spanish culture and Eagleton's approach to culture is very relevant here:

> by far the best preparation of political independence is political independence. Ironically, then, a case which moves from humanity to culture to politics betrays by its own political bias the fact that the real movement is the other way—that it is political interests which usually govern cultural ones, and in doing so define a particular version of humanity. (Eagleton, T. 2000: 7)

There were indeed initiatives—working class struggles, feminist groups, student movements, neighbourhood associations, anti-Francoist intellectuals, and others—capable of expanding the limits of the public sphere under the dictatorship as well as of questioning the hegemony of Franco's cultural

values after 1975.[88] But as long as these initiatives did not fit into the official discourse and did not bend to political interests, they were not regarded as characteristic of the Transition, nor did they shape the terms of the democracy that was being built.

If during the 70s different generations were driven by the thrilling idea that change was possible, by the 80s the limits to change had been very well established and anything that did not help to build 'la autoproclamada "nueva" España europea' (Vilarós 1998: 109) was dismissed, rejected, and silenced by the CT. I will explore these (non) changes brought about by the new Spain further in Chapter Three.

Once the process was over, it was a cultural world managed by the State that mostly fed the collective imaginary of the Transition. Culture acquired the dual role of exorcising the past and of creating the illusion of political stability and social cohesion that constituted the consensus. In this way, culture fuelled the discourse of a new reality, and part of that new reality was the important role assigned to cultural production itself: 'fue una innovación el peso que la categoría de cultura, entendida ya como noción antropológica y social, ya como conjunto de servicios y actividades estéticas y artísticas, adquirió en la Carta Magna de 1978' (Quaggio 2014: 107).

In her study of the relationship between reconciliation and cultural production in Spain in the period between 1976 and 1986, Quaggio differentiates the UCD's Ministry of Culture from that of the PSOE. The former 'devino un mero *simulacro* del cambio o, a lo sumo, se convirtió más en un contenedor que en un contenido de la voluntad oficial de transformar el

[88]A counterculture that is being rediscovered today thanks to the editions and reprints of important publications from the period such as *Ajoblanco* or *Vindicación Feminista*.

capital cultural español' (Italics in the original. Quaggio 2014: 111). This constraining role can be seen, for example, in the innumerable publications that were taken over by the government even after censorship was officially supposed to have ended. Nonetheless, it was under the PSOE that the transformation of cultural capital really came about, through the limits imposed by the aforementioned CT.

According to Quaggio, following the cultural promotion of Tierno Galván in Madrid and the appointment of Javier Solana as Minister of Culture, 'la política gubernamental amparó una cultura que podía aproximarse a la sensibilidad de la nueva situación social y, sin ninguna interpretación de sesgo político, institucionalizó el arte de vanguardia. […] La despolitización fue completa' (Quaggio 2014: 226). There is a different form of censorship at work here, more far-reaching and widespread than before, as Gregorio Morán highlights, that was designed to mark a break with the former regime: 'Existe la voluntad ubicua de presentar la imagen de un sistema político que se construye sobre la nada' (2015: 58).

But let us not mistake depoliticisation for a lack of ideology, something that Quaggio does when she states that 'resultaron privilegiados los artistas e intelectuales *menos ideologizados*, alejados de la dicotomía franquismo/antifranquismo y, en definitiva, ligados en mayor medida a la estética en cuanto cualidad exterior del producto cultural' (Emphasis added. Quaggio 2014: 270). Her description perfectly aligns with the cultural politics of Javier Solana, which focused on 'la reconstrucción del imaginario de una Tercera España' (Quaggio 2014: 294). But this new 'Third Spain', which apparently comes to replace the dichotomy of *las dos Españas,* only *seems* less ideological than the others.

As regards literature and prose narrative, we find what David Becerra has called (not without irony) the *novela de la no-ideología*. By this, Becerra does not mean a literature that excludes processes of ideological reproduction or legitimisation, but instead one that, in line with neoliberal capitalism, erases any form of social conflict or political discourse:

> En la ideología del capitalismo avanzado se ha desplazado cualquier forma de confrontación con el sistema. Pero esta invisibilización del conflicto, de la ideología en sentido político, forma parte asimismo de un discurso ideológico; lo que sucede es que, como dice Althusser, la ideología nunca dice que es ideológica. (Becerra 2013: 29)

It is, as we will see, this very issue that Roig confronts through her character Lluís in *El temps de les cireres*, something that in turn leads to the period's *desencanto*.

The process of depoliticisation has been explained either as the cause or the consequence of the transitional *desencanto*, depending on the argument. In the minutes of a conference at the University of Vanderbilt in 1980,[89] the editors acknowledge the progressive estrangement of the political class from the people they were representing: 'La clase política, quizá equivocando "popularidad" con "apoyo popular", empezó a hacer política de

[89] I will go back to this conference along this chapter. I find it revealing not only because the participants protagonised or were privileged witnesses to the process of Transition, but also because its purpose was to assess the process.
The participants were: Juan Luis Cebrián, José Luis Abellán, Rosa Montero, Francisco Ruiz-Ramón, Francisco Ayala, Rafael Conte, Pilar Miró, Raymond Carr, Manuel Fraga Iribarne and Richard P. Gunther (this last participant authored a decade later a chapter called 'Spain: the very model of modern elite settlement' in the volume coordinated by Higley and himself, referred above).
Their interventions were edited by José L. Cagigao, John Crispin and Enrique Pupo-Walker, and published two years later under the title *España 1975-1980: conflictos y logros de la democracia* (see bibliography).

puertas para adentro, era lo que se llamaba "política de consenso" […] con un pragmatismo donde las ideologías quedaban relegadas a segundo término' (Cagigao & Crispín 1981: 7). Notice how, once again, it is possible to rid ideologies of their ideological status. In this statement, the authors suggest that the methods of politicians–the consensus politics–were responsible for the *desencanto,* but they soon invert the terms to also argue that 'quizá el fenómeno ocurriera precisamente al revés: un paulatino desinterés de la sociedad por la política' (Cagigao & Crispín 1981: 6), thereby implying that this style of politics from above was inevitable, since people were not interested in getting involved in the process.[90]

This perspective, which legitimises actions taken by the makers of the Transition to deprive people of their agency and to discourage the active participation of citizens in the political process, is shared by other authors aligned with the hegemonic political discourse. At the same conference José Luis Abellán blamed the anti-Franco intellectuals for maintaining 'la esperanza mesiánica en la utopía democrática' (1981: 31), and he argued it was the utopian drive that made 'los tales izquierdistas' unable to face the 'desencanto'. He also cited the figure of the 'pasota' in order to refer to the widespread scepticism of the people (see Abellán 1981: 33). Nowadays, by contrast, social historians like Sánchez León interpret the 'pasotismo' differently, as a set of stereotyped traits that served to portray young people

[90] The *desencanto* is so indisputably paradigmatic of the Transition that, in the conference at the University of Vanderbilt, someone suggested that 'debería llamársele el "Congreso del Desencanto"' (Cagigao & Crispín 1981: 5). In the novels, we can easily detect a weariness with the term: 'lo recuerdo muy bien. Fue una de las primeras conversaciones en que comenzamos a hablar del desencanto (ahora hablamos tanto de él, que ya resulta una lata),'(Roig 1986b: 57) says Natàlia in *L'hora violeta*.

as antisocial subjects, preventing other images from gaining public visibility (see Labrador 2017: 509-510).

Other participants of the Vanderbilt conference, however, openly took a stance against the hegemonic perspective. Rosa Montero argued that the Franco regime left the average citizen ill-equipped to manoeuvre in a democratic system, as they wanted to believe in the politicians expertise: 'Hoy Adolfo Suárez nos dice que la democracia es *su* democracia, y los españoles nos encontramos tan excluidos del sistema como antes, aunque por otras vías' (Italics in the original. Montero 1981a: 42). Montero highlights the causal relationship between the 'desencanto'—the disappointment with democracy that the average citizen experienced—and the fact that the government, instead of empowering people, appropriated all political control by means of the consensus. Note the title of Montero's intervention in the conference: 'La marginación de la mayoría,' that so well exposes the contradictions of the narrative of the consensus that I try to explore in the analysis of the novels later in this chapter.

Montero added to the debate at the conference the following noteworthy definition (one that unfortunately remains relevant even today):

> El desencanto es ese estado de ánimo que nos hace recelar de las opciones políticas, de los movimientos sociales, que nos obliga a la resignación con nuestra suerte. Este desencanto que conduce a la aceptación humilde de las calamidades es, por otra parte, un estado de ánimo muy favorable para el gobierno: siempre es más fácil gobernar un país de desencantados que un país de ciudadanos combativos y reivindicativos. En este sentido, creo que el

> desencanto es un concepto y un desánimo social potenciado
> desde el propio gobierno. (Montero 1981a: 53)

Unlike her counterparts, Montero does not confuse depoliticisation with an absence of ideology.

Very much like the average Spaniard depicted by Montero at the conference, the protagonist of her novel *Crónica del desamor* expresses a feeling of disengagement and exclusion (which is also shared by most of Montero's other characters in this novel). Ana remembers the anti-Francoist protests to which 'se obligaba a ir con las piernas derretidas de pavor.' However, later on, she stops going to demonstrations because she sees them as pointless: 'Después llegó la muerte del dictador, *la supuesta democracia*, la desgana. […] siente ella misma también la perplejidad del contexto, el absurdo, la desidia' (Emphasis added. Montero 2010: 50). Ana, far from being a *pasota,* expresses her feeling that her political agency has been removed.

Female characters express their own disenchantment, dwelling on the indelible presence of the past—the so-called 'franquismo sociológico'—and the burden of a shared sentimental education that made it impossible at times for women to move on. The construction of a counter-response will be the subject of Chapter Three, which is more specifically related to feminist preoccupations and demands.

In this chapter, and after having examined the narrative of the consensus, I will analyse the portrayal of male characters who are either makers (winners) or strugglers (losers) of the Transition, engaging with the narrative of the consensus articulated around two axes:

The first axis deals with the idea of the elite settlement and the consensus as 'representación'—understood, following Medina, in the double sense of the Spanish word. I am interested in analysing how the authors under consideration describe the triumphalism of the 'winners' of the Transition as opposed to the feeling of exclusion that other sectors of society felt during the process.

The second axis examines the political violence and the social costs of the dictatorship and the Transition, which were never acknowledged in the dominant narrative of 'equal suffering'. I examine the authors' portrayal of the sacrifice of the 'losers', which they depict as essential to the materialisation of democracy. The fact that the future imagined by the 'losers' did not materialise did not prevent it from becoming part of the country's collective imagination—and as part of that collective imagination we see it re-created in the novels under analysis. In these same lines, Christina Dupláa states that in Roig's *Els catalans als camps nazis*: 'el testimonio de esas mujeres y hombres no es el testimonio de una derrota, sino de un proyecto de futuro' (1996b: 158).

My main interest is showing that, while the *process/discourse* suggested that the reintegration of post-dictatorial society was a smooth and effective process, it was in fact full of conflict and resulted in yet another division between 'winners' and 'losers'. I agree with Labrador when he states that '[e]ntre las puntas bífidas de aquella generación cabe reconocer toda una escala de grados y matices, de zonas híbridas' (2017: 131), thus without glossing over possible nuances, I will focus on these tendencies to gravitate towards one or the other branch of this bifurcation, probing into 'lo que el mito de la transición feliz no deja ver' (Labrador 2017: 152).

1. First axis: The consensus as construction and performance

The consensus, understood and constructed as hegemonic narrative, turned politics into: 'una realidad intermitente, precaria, inestable y "confiada sólo a la perseverancia de sus propios gestos"' (Fernández-Savater quoting Jacques Rancière 2011: online). In the following sections, I explore how these symbolic gestures as actually embodied and performed by the makers of the Transition are depicted in the novels at hand in opposition to other realities that were confined to the margins.

In *Arcángeles*, the novel that followed *Urraca,* Lourdes Ortiz returned to an exploration of her contemporary reality. *Arcángeles* is interesting because it explicitly exposes the contrast between reality and appearances, between what was visible during the Transition and what was not, and, most importantly, between who was representative of or represented in the transitional process and who was absent altogether; and it does so after four years of PSOE government, in 1986, when a few years of actual democracy had already passed.

The action of the novel takes place in Madrid, a city described as a metaphor for the transitional reality: 'un vertedero de posibilidades que amplifican los transistores' (Ortiz 1986b: 26).[91] In this dump site, in which expectations of the future are just rubbish embellished by the media, we have, on the one hand, 'los elegidos', i.e. those who, having led an idealistic revolt against Franco, have become the protagonists of the public arena after his death and, on the other, 'los chatarreros', those who struggle to make a living.

[91] All the following quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

While the former 'descorchan botellas de champán y explican el mundo' (1986b: 26), the latter 'recogen restos de palabras y atiborran sus carritos con piezas desguazadas' (1986b: 26).

The novel begins with a quotation of a stanza from T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*:[92] '*voices singing out of empty cisterns and exhausted wells*,' that suggests the precariousness of the elite's performative gestures and the emptiness of the media's words, which are pictured in the novel as junk. These gestures and words are especially meaningless to the members of a younger generation, who inhabit the territorial and sociopolitical margins, and who experience the incipient democracy as something which they cannot relate to.

In contrast to 'los elegidos', these characters are condemned to unemployment, have no purpose in life and feel no hope for the future.[93] In the conference held at Vanderbilt University, Rosa Montero denounced the fact that young people 'salen de las escuelas, de las universidades, a enfrentar el paro' (Montero 1981a: 49) and that, to curb the rise in juvenile delinquency, 'al gobierno sólo parece habérsele ocurrido el proyecto de bajar la edad penal

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[92] Both Ortiz's *Arcángeles* and Roig's *L'hora violeta* start with verses from Elliot's *The Waste Land*.
In *L'hora violeta*, the quotation is the following:
At the violet hour, when the eyes and back / Turn upward from the desk, when the human engine waits / Like a taxi, throbbing waiting, / I Tiresias, though blind, throbbing between two lives, / Old man with wrinkled female breasts can see / At the violet hour...
Ana María Brenes-García interprets it: 'Tiresias was an old man with female breasts. In spite of his blindness, he could guess Narciso's destiny and could also show Ulysses his way to Ithaca. Within classical mythology his body represents ambiguity. Therefore, Roig's novel is like Tiresias' body: it implies a contradiction while it trascends [*sic*.] gender' (1997: 110).
It would be interesting to look further at Elliot's poem and explore the possible reasons for such a coincidence.

[93] The harshest side of this generation is depicted in the *quinqui* cinema of the period, a cinematographic genre that became very popular in Spain in the late 1970s and early 1980s and narrates the experiences and adventures of well-known young delinquents, the 'quinquis'. The 'quinquis' emerged as a result of the crisis of the 1970s in the outlying districts of big cities. Disengaged with politics and facing a bleak future, they turned to crime and drugs. Some of them started making frequent appearance in the press, and became social and cultural icons.

de dieciocho a dieciséis años' (Montero 1981a: 49). The division between insiders and outsiders, which is highlighted in *Arcángeles,* creates realities that seem alien to each other.

In *Culpables por la literatura*, Germán Labrador argues that there were two generations involved in the counterculture of the Transition: 'los progres del 68' and 'los jóvenes de 1977'. Those in the younger generation, born in the mid-1950s, 'se verán excluidos de las reformas políticas y del mercado laboral al llegar la crisis de 1979' (Labrador 2017: 26). Dissatisfied with a democracy that pushed them to the margins, they sought to invent a society that would allow them to exercise their rights in everyday life. Together with those *sesentayochistas* who would not adapt to the terms of the consensus—further explored below—, they ultimately met with failure.

In *Arcángeles*, the narrator is a woman in the process of writing a novel. She maintains an ambiguous relation with a younger man called Gabriel who becomes the narrator at times, and who embodies this generation of 77. She calls Gabriel various names throughout the novel as he personifies other characters, all of them outsiders. Gabriel and the writer engage in conversation about the content of her novel and Gabriel, situating her alongside the insiders of the *process/discourse*, exposes the contrast between her group's reality, and that of the outsiders: '¿Qué sabes tú de lo que ocurre ahora? […]—Los tuyos, tú, no tenéis ni idea—insiste Gabriel. Hay mucha más mierda de la que nunca podrías llegar a imaginar' (1986b: 29).

Gabriel's accusation is an expression of class struggle. Once there is no 'gran papá tiránico que destronar' or 'represiones caseras que permiten pequeñas y reparadoras revoluciones' (1986b: 33), those *sesentayochistas*

that Gabriel classes alongside the narrator ('los tuyos') become part of the establishment and oblivious to other people's struggles.

Gabriel stumbles across young characters who have either been excluded or have opted out of the triumphalism of the transitional process (heroin addicts, drug dealers, male prostitutes, HIV-positive people), because the continuist democracy that came out of the consensus offered them nothing. Their sense of exclusion is demonstrated very explicitly by one of the characters who tries to convince another that he has a plan that will lift them out of poverty:

> No hay trabajo, nene, ni para ti, ni para mí, ni para nadie... ¿De qué vas a encontrar? Ni para barrer las calles nos necesitan... *Sobramos* y yo no tengo la culpa, ni tú tampoco, de *haber llegado tarde al festín*, sobre todo cuando sé el modo de salir de esta basura. (Emphasis added. Ortiz 1986b: 154)

The means to escape poverty that this character is referring to are drug dealing and prostitution. These underworld businesses seem to be these characters' only way of making a living and joining the 'fiesta de la democracia', but instead of participating of it, they become the 'providers' of the feast. The marginal role they are given not only contradicts the claims of the 'fiesta de la democracia' to actually be democratic, but also provides evidence of the double standards of the party's hosts.

Heroin addiction, a complicated and tragic issue that became prominent during the Spanish Transition, is a huge elephant in the room that has not been addressed by the hegemonic discourse, beyond moves to marginalise and

stigmatise the users.[94] Montero warned of the crisis during the conference in Vanderbilt in 1980: 'El uso de drogas duras se extiende por la juventud española como la pólvora, y parecería que el Gobierno no quiere cortar el problema o cuando menos no se interesa en él' (Montero 1981a: 49).[95] Critics addressed the problem later; for instance, Vilarós's *El mono del desencanto* opportunely and skilfully brought addiction to the fore. However, the agonising situation faced by addicts is felt even more strongly in literature.

In *Arcángeles,* Gabriel arrives at the flat of a couple of old friends and finds two aged, malnourished and desperate bodies who are very much aware of their marginalised position. The narrator sees these bodies through Gabriel's eyes, not embellishing the scene at all, but rather pointing out with painful sarcasm the inconvenience that this couple presents to the sanctimonious members of Western society:

> ella ríe: "no somos apestados", dice, no apestados y el temblor de su cuerpo diminuto, cuerpo de foto para turistas, de Auschwitz casero para sobresalto de europeos acomodados y americanos con conciencia tranquila se extiende a través de la alfombra mugrienta de vomitonas y

[94] The relationship between street violence and state violence is another elephant in the room of the hegemonic discourse. Some critics have noted that violence is missing from the literature of the period: 'La laguna testimonial mayor, la de dimensiones más amplias, la más llamativa, de la narrativa postfranquista es la violencia' (Sanz Villanueva 2013: 27). Some of the novels written by the authors in this study, however, openly address police brutality and they spare no detail in describing the impact of violence on average people on the streets. Rosa Montero's *La función Delta* broaches the subject in a petrifying scene that takes place on the outdoor terrace of a bar, where an ultra-right death squad called 'el Escuadrón del Orden' shows up and kills a young man because he looks like a leftist–see Montero 1981b: 173-176.

[95] In 2016, Justo Arriola Etxaniz published *A los pies del caballo. Narcotráfico, heroína y contrainsurgencia en Euskal Herria*, a piece of research that reveals that the Spanish government had a politically motivated plan to introduce heroin into the Basque Country during the Transition in order to dissolve the social and armed insurgency.

> de gotitas transparentes, coaguladas de una sangre delatora
> y ya vieja, apenas coloreada. (Ortiz 1986b: 137)

Gabriel's friends claim their right to be considered part of a society of which they feel themselves to be the victims. It is the contrast between them and the 'acomodados' that makes the success of the latter more pretence than reality.

Gabriel describes members of the middle class in merciless terms, foregrounding their artificiality:

> paralíticos, impotentes y raquíticos muñecones que danzan
> y danzan y preparan la sonrisa conveniente, la sonrisa cortés
> de "aquí no pasa nada" y visten trajes de colorines y calzan
> zapatos a la italiana […] y cuando les das la mano se
> desinflan […] máscaras de cartón piedra risueñas. (1986b:
> 34)

They continue to falsely act out the so-called 'fiesta de la democracia', a democracy reduced to nothing more than the gestures and the words of those who benefit from it.

This elite of individuals who are 'hermosos y complacientes, calladitos, vistosos, saludables, decorativos' (1986b: 34) makes up the visible part of a city that is presented as a shallow and artificial *male* commodity: 'Lo bueno que tiene Madrid, dice [Gabriel, with sarcasm], es que se va pareciendo cada vez más a un buen anuncio de colonia para hombres' (1986b: 34). The pejorative tone of these descriptions accentuates the pessimism that pervades the novel, particularly in passages describing the experiences of Gabriel and those around him, experiences that emphasise the fact that the transition to democracy was not a process in which all of society was included, as the

narrative of the consensus assures, but a neoliberal project (further addressed below) that only some could enjoy.

The successful men of this generation—those who made the Transition—are described extensively in most of the novels examined here, and the descriptions all tally and resonate with the idea of the consensus as a staged performance. There are very interesting analyses of the depiction of men by women in contemporary literature—for instance, Brown (1992), already quoted above—but, in my opinion, they fail to engage with the sociopolitical context, something that I intend to do in my study.

In Montero's *Crónica del desamor*, Ana—the protagonist—makes herself fall in love with the quintessential man of the Transition, Soto Amón.[96] Apart from being the owner of the newspaper she works for, Soto Amón is also a senator: 'el perfecto play boy de las alturas, que en los fines de semana hace política […] refinado ejemplar de la clase dominante, viviendo el esplendor de su victoria' (Montero 2010: 45).

Later in the novel, Ana is assigned to write a special feature for the newspaper on 'los hombres de la Transición'. Although these men did not go through the war, they were 'educados en la grandilocuencia de la triunfante cruzada' (Montero 2010: 88) and, regardless of their relationship with those who won the battles of the 30s, they have become the new victors. This relates to the argument that an idea of what the Civil War meant was constructed during the dictatorship and inculcated into the generation that would take part in the *process/discourse* of the Transition.

[96] The fact that Ana 'makes herself fall in love' with Soto Amón will be analysed in my treatment of love in Chapter Three.

Ana's report delves into the lives of those who began as victims of Franco's dictatorship and the deeply rooted ideology of the period, who then struggled against Franco, but who ultimately had to resign themselves to the conditions of the new establishment. 'Han luchado por valores que hoy se tambalean y quizá empiezan a sentir que algo les ha sido robado, oculto bajo el corte perfecto de un chaleco a juego o bajo una corbata de seda italiana' (Montero 2010: 88-89). Their suits make their compromise visible, symbolising the commodification of a process whose achievements ended up being more economic than political. The report points at their emptiness and the sense of artificiality imprinted in them.

In Roig's *El temps de les cireres*, Natàlia's brother, Lluís, is described in much the same fashion:

> Lluís era hijo directo del fascismo y, de aquella aventura, solamente se podía salir malvado o rebelde. […] No, Lluís no es del todo bueno ni del todo malo. Como todos nosotros, está hecho a medias. La única diferencia es que él no lo sabe y, como no lo sabe, no se acepta. (Roig 1986a: 22-23)

This ideological schizophrenia between their Francoist background and the democratic project (further explored in Chapter Three) will not be acknowledged by this generation until much later, but in this novel, Natàlia consciously declares: 'Soy una hija forzosa del franquismo' (Roig 1986a: 39).

Members of this generation, in their efforts to unlearn Francoism, find themselves confronted by a dichotomy between two tendencies, which will end up dividing them: 'o la lucha por el poder (a cambio de la reproducción del sistema) o la democratización de la vida, a cambio de cierta autonomía'

(Labrador 2017: 403). While Natàlia, remembering where she comes from, opts for the second option, Lluís chooses the first.

Lluís, seen through his sister's eyes, is described as the perfect example of a successful member of his generation:

> Lluís, con un 'Torres' diez años en la mano, decía que tanto unos como otros eran políticos de la vieja escuela. Lo que la gente quiere es vivir bien y con comodidad. Tú, que vienes de Inglaterra, lo debes saber: lo que cuenta es la política del 'bienestar'. Ni unos ni otros lo conseguirán. […] Se acabó eso de no poder saludar más que de dos maneras, con el puño en alto o con la mano extendida. […] esos cuatro exaltados que se echan a la calle lo estropearán todo y no acabaremos de entrar en el Mercado Común. (Roig 1986a: 63-64)

Like the Italian shoes or the silk ties seen above, the glass of luxury brandy here symbolizes the consumerism that keeps Lluís removed from and indifferent to the experience of other sectors of society.

Lluís, an upper-middle class professional, reproduces the narrative of the consensus, firstly, by equating the positions of the two opposing sides—who have in fact faced one another on absolutely unequal terms for forty years—and, secondly, by implying that Franco's death represented a clear-cut turning point after which social tensions should simply disappear. He also dismisses both ideologies, and aligns himself with the political class in a neoliberal project that would take Spain into the 'Mercado Común', as if becoming part of the European Economic Community was not an ideological act. Spain should become, according to Lluís, a prosperous society unified

through reconciliation, re-producing the narrative of the Third Spain that Javier Solana promulgated, in what Subirats calls 'el espectáculo maravilloso de un futuro emancipado del pasado' (2000: 21).

In Tusquets's novels, the female protagonists/narrators seem to be experts in unmasking the establishment, and in reproaching men who became part of it for abandoning their former ambitions, priorities, dreams and moral values. These 'testigos sospechosos' are especially critical of the ideological shift of the left-wing intelligentsia (away from their ideals) as well as of the functioning of the art institutions.

In *El mismo mar,* Elia finds herself at a conference with Marcos, a former university classmate whom she calls Hänsel. She describes him both before and after the Transition.

As a student, Marcos is defined by: 'su adscripción al Partido, sus preguntas agudas e impertinentes en clase, su afición al buen borgoña y al coñac francés, sus sabias disertaciones sobre literatura provenzal, tan comprometido y exquisito' (Tusquets 1978: 47). He epitomises the *Gauche Divine*, with his combination of bourgeois upbringing, sophisticated education and political commitment.[97]

Many years later, Elia expresses her disappointment in the Marcos/Hänsel with whom she is confronted at the conference: '[u]n Hänsel

[97] The *Gauche Divine*—'divine left' in French—is a term coined by journalist Joan de Sagarra to name a group of writers, publishers, filmmakers, plastic artists, leisure entrepreneurs, photographers, architects and others, based in Barcelona, who flourished between 1967 and 1975. It was an elitist movement that contributed to late-Francoism with a project of aesthetic, literary, cinematographic and morals renewal, in line with an urban and European idea of modernity. It is also well-known that members of the *Gauche Divine* were their own best product: with the help of great photographers of the moment, they knew how to promote themselves, and most had very successful careers after Franco's death. Although Tusquets belonged to the group—Molinaro describes her as 'a hesitant (though thoroughly unrepentant) member of Barcelona's *gauche divine*' (2014: x)—, she always criticised this late commodification of the movement and openly disagreed with many of its members, for instance, her brother Óscar Tusquets, who became a famous architect.

vaciado ahora de sí mismo y que no tiene nada que decir, nada que decirme' (Tusquets 1978: 48). Even though Marcos has become a professor at a prestigious university abroad, Elia highlights his lack of substance, one of the main characteristics of the successful men of the Transition. Elia notes that, despite his meaningless life, Marcos feels content because he has resigned himself and adapted to the requirements of his new circumstances, having given up the possibility of alternative realities: 'ha decidido hace tanto tiempo que la vida no puede ser, no pudo haber sido otra cosa—, engorda y se afantasma, vegeta monstruosamente entre flores de plástico. Eso es todo' (Tusquets 1978: 48).

Marcos and Elia had actively worked together in the fight for freedom and in the construction of a collective imagination around it, but they then evolved in different directions. Although Elia did not manage to realise her dreams, she did not renounce them.

Another of Tusquets's female characters, Elena in *Para no volver*, expresses a similar disappointment with her own generation, when she complains that those who have become part of the establishment have stopped wanting to discuss philosophical or political topics such as:

> la revolución cubana o china, los recovecos del amor y la sexualidad, la existencia de dios y de otra vida posterior a la muerte, el arte, las herejías contrapuestas y en algún punto afines de Papá Marx, Papá Freud, Papá Jean Paul. (Tusquets 1985: 65)

Instead, they have replaced these subjects with 'asuntos de dinero y de prestigio y de poder', that is to say with a neo-liberal market agenda that the narrator considers deficient and boring.

Elena has lost the chance to discuss—and thus to re-create—the spaces of freedom they imagined under the dictatorship because her friends:

> tenían que estar todos o casi todos puntuales y mañaneros en las oficinas, los estudios, los ministerios, ahora que habían brotado los socialistas como setas […] y tenían todos amigos en el poder, y éste había sido para ella uno de los primeros síntomas del colectivo envejecer. (Tusquets 1985: 66)

While the hegemonic discourse celebrates the birth of a new democratic society, Tusquets by contrast, lays bare the apparent aging of those individuals who make up the establishment and its institutions.

Elia in *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* and Elena in *Para no volver* are both married to successful film directors, and both Elia's and Elena's husbands are called Julio. Although their relationships are different, in both novels Julio has gone on a romantic getaway with a younger woman. The two Julios are very much the same kind of conceited maker of the Transition that were described by Haro Tecglen and we have seen so far. Their attitudes in these novels are explored in the context of art institutions.

In *El mismo mar,* Julio is equated with his body and his body is equated with its accessories: 'el cuerpo de Julio […]—el traje impecable de Julio quiero decir, sus sienes plateadas (y eso de sienes plateadas parece una expresión inventada exprofeso para Julio), su tenue perfume a colonia inglesa y a tabaco americano—' (Tusquets 1978: 203), creating the impression that without all this paraphernalia he would cease to exist. As an object typically seen as an extension of the male body, Julio's car is just another element that gives meaning to an otherwise meaningless man:

> ha bajado del coche -uno de esos coches despampanantes y ostentosos que parece le obliguen a uno a decir algo, y ante los cuales yo nunca sé qué decir, porque sólo se me ocurren, y esto me pasa a menudo con Julio, las frases de un spot televisivo. (Tusquets 1978: 203)

Echoing *Arcángeles,* the scene is compared to a TV commercial, suggesting a pseudo-reality made by and for men like Julio and in which Elia—an undoubtedly articulate narrator—becomes speechless.

In parallel to this vacuous pseudo-reality constructed around commodities, we see Julio's films, which are made—according to Elia—in his image and likeness. Julio's movies are: 'en absoluto verosímiles […] como vacías de carne o privadas de columna vertebral, como si no trataran jamás de hombres y mujeres, como si las mismas películas no existieran demasiado' (Tusquets 1978: 207). Far from being *testimoniales,* Julio's movies are detached from reality and are described very much like the cultural production of the CT.

Julio's movies lack a sense of real existence, and so does Julio himself: 'tampoco Julio existe realmente, más que como institución, una institución a nivel nacional, invención de unos críticos y un público que le necesitan tal vez para justificar y afianzarse en unos puntos que a mí tampoco me conciernen' (Tusquets 1978: 208). Julio and his movies do not exist independently but only as part of the establishment, in order to legitimise it.

In *Para no volver,* Julio enjoys a similar relation with the institution and Elena argues that this exchange comes at a price. Unlike Elia, Elena used to admire Julio's films but she reproves him for imposing limits on his ambition by yielding to 'la tentación de agradar a los otros, de ser aplaudido por los

otros, y llegar así a un compromiso, a una componenda' (Tusquets 1985: 126). In his own act of 'consensus'-building with the public, Julio makes compromises that result in the loss of his own authenticity (and of his ability to make movies worth seeing). This is what Guy Debord calls *the society of the spectacle* (theorised in the book of the same name published in 1967), in which there is a reciprocal exchange between the artist and the public: the artist provides the public with what they want fulfilling their expectations rather than presenting them with anything challenging. In return, the public consumes art—which therefore becomes a consumer product—giving status (and money) to art producers, who eventually constitute the art institution.

In this world that has been reduced to a commercial exchange, only complacent artists who legitimise the ruling class and offer flattering representations of their public can really exist. As expressed in *Para no volver*, artists have to perform in this art scene to be visible: 'en el mundo del arte, donde se operaba siempre con valores absolutos—ser o no ser, no era posible ser a medias—, de modo que era todo cuestión de vida o muerte, existir o no existir' (Tusquets 1985: 129); the CT which is later theorised as such is perfectly mirrored here.

Julio's opposite in the novel is Eduardo, Elena's casual lover and good friend, described as 'un caso límite de invisibilidad' (Tusquets 1985: 127). Unlike Julio, Eduardo, a painter, would not consider 'si va este cuadro a gustar o a no gustar, y qué podría introducir o eliminar o modificar para que gustara un poco más' (Tusquets 1985: 133). Eduardo represents the *true* artist according to Elena, but also to Julio who admires Eduardo's dedication and passion, envying him for not compromising on his art. Eduardo conceives painting 'como un fin en sí misma, no como un medio para conseguir dinero,

notoriedad, mujeres, halagos, un cachito incluso de inmortalidad' (Tusquets 1985: 135), i.e. he is not swayed by any of the things that led the winners of the Transition to make compromises.

The tension between social consciousness and hedonistic individuality, characteristic of late capitalism, is embedded in the Transition and parallels the consensus. The construction of an illusory triumphant reality in which conflict is eliminated is part of what Subirats describes as a process of 'despolitización de la sociedad y estetización política' (Subirats 2002: 79). This 'representación', personified by the winners of the Transition, muddles the distinction between what is real and what is part of the discourse.

In Montero's *La función Delta*, Hipólito's words illustrate these blurry levels of (un)reality. He is the scriptwriter of the movie that Lucía—the protagonist—is about to premiere as director, and they also have a casual relationship. Echoing the identification, analysed above, between male characters and their assets, Lucía identifies Hipólito with his words: 'Hablaba bien, Hipólito. Pensé que en realidad era todo palabras. […] un cúmulo de palabras carente de coraje' (Montero 1981b: 21). These (cowardly) words are such a distinctive part of Hipólito's existence that Lucía calls him: 'la novela que haces de ti mismo' (Montero 1981b: 23). Hipólito is not writing a novel in which he is the protagonist, rather he actually becomes his own fiction.

In a similar fashion, the discourse on the Transition overlaps with the process to such an extent that they cannot be easily told apart and the consensus can only be sustained by the precarious acting gestures of its protagonists, as described by our female narrators as 'testigos sospechosos'. Amongst those men who opportunistically agreed with its terms, the consensus started as a transitional metonymy of the Spanish population but

soon transformed into a metaphor, a substitute for society. It stopped being a means and became an end in itself.

2. Second axis: Democracy from the bottom-up. The depiction of sacrifice

Moving on to the second axis of analysis, in this section of my study, I examine some common aspects of the novels that contradict the narrative of equal suffering propagated by the consensus, and I bring the anti-Francoist struggle to the fore as a vital element in the establishment of democracy.

The generational breach between those who lived through the war and their children is evidence of how—contrary to any narrative of reconciliation—the conflict between winners and losers in Spanish society continued during the dictatorship. This division demonstrates how the consequences of Franco's dictatorship (prosperity for some/struggle for others) remained and continued to be relevant after Franco's death.

Among the younger generation, I will pay particular attention to the depiction of those men who did not agree with the terms of the consensus' reforma and remained fixated on the alternative realities they had envisioned during the dictatorship. Their vital commitments are interpreted as a sacrifice which, inscribed on their bodies through torture and imprisonment, has become rooted in the deepest parts of their psyche, leaving some of them unbearably traumatised. I will focus on both the importance of their agenda to create a collective imagination around democratic values, and their *desencanto* once the continuism of the *reforma* was secured.

It is important to point out that, despite the fact that the authors in this study clearly express an ethical judgement against Francoism and assign responsibility for the failure to establish a full democracy to the types of opportunists analysed above, they also have a critical perspective, as 'testigos sospechosos', on the PC men. Far from idealising them, they succeed once again in reflecting social complexity through individual stories and in not shying away from conflict.

To explore the depiction of the losers of the Transition in the novels, we need to examine the mechanisms of distribution of power in order to understand how the losers became so.

If the performance of consensus aimed to depoliticise the social masses, it is because in late Francoist Spain, social mobilisation had significantly and visibly increased. Under the dictatorship, any conflict was seen as an attack on the 'order' and 'peace' that, according to the official discourse, legitimised the regime. Moreover, conflict constituted a breach of legality and was thus immediately suppressed (no wonder those who feel nostalgia for the Francoist regime still claim the lack of social conflict as one of its major achievements).

Paradoxically (or not), the ranks of the Communist Party (PC) became filled by the children of the winners of the Civil War, who were critical of the sociopolitical situation and opposed the dictatorship and the legacy of the conflict. The repressive actions of the State ('mano dura' or 'strong-arm tactics') were effective in the short term, but instead of eradicating the workers' actions, they contributed to their radicalisation and to the growth of social solidarity, producing increasingly anti-Franco attitudes among unionists, students, feminists, intellectuals (and others).

In this context, CC.OO. (Comisiones Obreras, the clandestine communist labour union) was organised as a sociopolitical movement which fought not only for the immediate needs of the workers but also made wider political demands articulated around democratic freedoms. Through a process of cause and effect, the PC became the prime mover and main representative of the anti-Francoist struggle; concomitantly '[e]l propio régimen, desde su mismo nacimiento, había convertido el término comunista en sinónimo de antifranquista, y las cárceles así lo reflejaban' (Molinero 2007: 216).

The achievements of the anti-Francoist struggle were publicly recognised in the post-dictatorship period, but when political reform came about, the conflicts that gave rise to this struggle were erased from the public debate. The narrative of the consensus declared the struggle had ended with a harmonious compromise, as if political reform had simply eliminated social conflicts and activism was therefore no longer necessary. Once political prisoners had been freed through the 1977 Amnesty, the anti-Francoist fight was put to one side and the *process/discourse* could proclaim that the transition from dictatorship to democracy was the result of the consolidation of a state apparatus, enabled by elite settlement and articulated through formal means such as the 1978 Constitution.

In the words of Xabier Arzalluz, leader of the Basque Nationalist Party from 1979 until 2004 and main contributor to the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country,

> esto que pasa en este hemiciclo, donde se sientan gentes que han padecido largos años de cárcel y de exilio junto a otros que han compartido responsabilidades de gobierno y de Gobiernos que causaron esos exilios o esas cárceles, es la

> imagen de la realidad de nuestra sociedad. (Quoted in Molinero 2007: 221)

Here, the Spanish Parliament becomes a metaphor for a society in line with the *process/discourse*. The narrative of the consensus equated the suffering and sacrifice of the winners with that of the losers and, in doing so, it appropriated society's power.

As a matter of fact, not everybody's sacrifice was rewarded as Arzalluz's was, and not everybody's struggle was over after the first democratic elections took place. If that had been the case, there would have been no demands for the recovery of historical memory or for a revision of the history of the Transition, and these issues would not continue to stir up the deepest of passions, as they still do today. As Sara Ahmed states when talking about pain in a political context, '[t]he differentiation between forms of pain and suffering in stories that are told, and between those that are told and those that are not, is a crucial mechanism for the distribution of power' (2004: 32).

There were people whose actions were not rewarded, and whose stories were not told by the official narrative (much less represented in Parliament). And if these people were mentioned, it was in a simplistic way, one that reduced all multiplicity and erased any underlying controversy. The authors in this study, however, use their characters to explore the complexity of the period with a critical eye. In Ortiz's *Arcángeles*, Carlos is described by Gabriel:

> recibió las patadas en los testículos, las descargas eléctricas, la presión insoportable en las ingles; Carlos fue aquel que vivió desde los diecinueve años hasta los veinticinco en

> Carabanchel, esperando revoluciones liberadoras, movimientos de salvación, chinos, trotskistas, emeele y un largo etcétera de buen chico que sabe perderlo todo […] pasa ahora la sierra mecánica sobre patas de conglomerado para mesas de piso dormitorio de un bienestar a la española de los años ochenta, ése que no volvió a pensar en Hegel, ni releyó a Hölderlin, *ni pudo sentarse en escaños gloriosos*. (Emphasis added. Ortiz 1986b: 91)

Certainly, Spain experienced a process of modernisation that helped spur a progressive change in class structures and permitted a democratic culture. Nevertheless, more and more critics now agree that 'sin los activistas—que eran militantes políticos—no se explica un factor efectivamente esencial para el cambio político como fue la asunción por amplios sectores de la sociedad de las reivindicaciones democráticas' (Molinero and Ysàs 1998: 153).

In contrast to the hegemonic discourse, the literary narratives in this study acknowledge that past tensions endure in post-dictatorship Spain, and they bring various struggles to the surface, revealing their impact on the democratic process. This acknowledgment aligns them with an idea that was later vindicated, namely that:

> la conflictividad social y la acción de los grupos antifranquistas, si bien no provocaron el derrumbe de la dictadura, contribuyeron decisivamente a erosionarla tan profundamente que, en 1975, las tentativas continuistas resultaban inviables. De igual manera, manteniendo una fuerte presión a lo largo de 1976 la movilización social

> contribuyó, también decisivamente, a hacer posible la instauración de un régimen democrático en España. Nada más, pero nada menos. (Molinero and Ysàs 1998: 154)

Privileges are also acknowledged in these novels, yet not presented as abstract entities inherent to or plainly deserved by the winners of the War, by the Francoists during the dictatorship or, later on, by the makers of the Transition. Instead, these privileges become denaturalised and both the involvement of certain characters with the dictatorship and their acceptance of concessions during the Transition are characterised as unethical.

Tusquets's protagonists, who belong on the side of the winners, dissect the position of Barcelona's bourgeoisie whose attributes—with the exception of some idiosyncrasies—might be applied to the upper classes anywhere in Spain. In *Para no volver*, the narrator reflects on the position that the protagonist Elena inhabits during the dictatorship:

> un franquismo visto desde la óptica de los vencedores, hijos ella y sus amigos de infancia de aquellos que habían ganado la guerra civil, y habían apostado por el triunfo de Alemania en la mundial, y habían impuesto por descontado su ley. (Tusquets 1985: 50)

The distinctive position in which she has been placed differs, however, from the perspective that she (together with others like her) adopts.

Elena's reflections are triggered by the realisation of the inescapable imbalance that her own privileged position entails: 'el confuso presentimiento de que no estaban viviendo en el mejor de los mundos posibles, de que algunos o muchos estaban pagando en alguna parte—a veces muy cerca, a

veces a su lado—el precio de tantísimos privilegios' (Tusquets 1985: 50). Elena's awareness of her class' privileges enables her to question the division she refers to, detaching herself from the dictatorship's foundational discourse of winners and losers and from its morality: 'algo no terminaba de encajar en aquel claroscuro de vencedores y vencidos, de buenos y malos, que se les proponía en casa y en la escuela' (Tusquets 1985: 50).

The narrator emphasises the connection between class and ideology—'eran en casa muy distintas las posiciones de los padres, hermanos, amigos, a las de aquellas personas que integraban el servicio' (Tusquets 1985: 50-51)—and she problematises it. Stacey Casado affirms that what Tusquets does in her novels is 'criticar aspectos del sistema desde una perspectiva de conformidad y complicidad' (1991: 19). Even though Casado admits that 'la novelista catalana ciertamente ataca numerosos mitos sociales en su ficción (desenmascarando la insipidez y la inercia de su clase socioeconómica en particular, y la absurdidez de la superioridad masculina dentro del sistema tradicional del binomio hombre-mujer)' (1991: 18), she argues that Tusquets's critique is not to the system as a whole. I disagree with this conclusion, arguing that the narrator's disengagement from the ideology of her class is a decision grounded in an ethical awareness of the lives of others.

In Tusquets's *El mismo mar,* Elia also rejects her parents' ideology, and takes part in the university demonstrations against the Franco regime. In the middle of a student riot she finds the birth of the left's agenda symbolically enacted:

> —un día glorioso—una de las alumnas más locatis de primero se trepó hasta la torre e hizo sonar delirante la campana de la libertad, de un tiempo nuevo, mientras la

> oíamos atónitos desde los claustros y las aulas y el jardín—
> y la oían las gentes agolpadas en la plaza. (Tusquets 1978: 61)

Appropriating the dictatorship's words ('glorioso') and in a vivid scene that makes reference to the violence perpetrated by the 'grises',[98] Elia attributes a liberating power to the sudden act of tolling the bell, which has an immediate effect despite the impossible context: 'aunque no estaban todavía los tiempos maduros para nada […] algo había empezado sin embargo a cambiar después de tantos años' (Tusquets 1978: 62).

In the scene, the students' desire for change and freedom begins to shape a whole community: 'ver surgir por vez primera un tipo especialísimo de íntima solidaridad […] era terrible y hermoso y esperanzador' (Tusquets 1978: 63). There is a 'we' from which Elia speaks, to which she belongs and which she describes as 'solos y tristes y asustados, infinitamente faltos de apoyo y orientación' (Tusquets 1978: 57). Yet the members of this community feel entitled to occupy the streets and see themselves as responsible for performing the change announced by the tolling bell, as if they embodied it: 'nos veíamos obligados a brindar esta imagen ruidosa, atropellada, un tanto irresponsable e insolente' (Tusquets 1978: 57). The students' unrest, which in the beginning is cultural, becomes an active political opposition to the dictatorship through their bodies and attitudes.

As Molinero explains: 'En los ambientes intelectuales existía un desasosiego moral y vital al mismo tiempo, un desprecio por la mezquindad

[98] The 'grises' were a heavily-armed urban division of the police—known as 'the greys' owing to the color of their uniforms—established by the Francoist State in 1939 to enforce the repression of all opposition to the regime.

del ambiente, un rechazo del provincianismo y una profunda convicción en una minoría de que debían "responsabilizarse" ante la injusticia social' (2007: 204-205). The wish (and responsibility) to achieve social justice is vital to this generation, and is also expressed by Emilio and shared by Natàlia in Roig's *El temps de les cireres*.

Like the protagonists of Tusquets's novels, Roig's Natàlia in *El temps de les cireres* belongs to a well-to-do family whose position impedes her awareness of the struggle of others under the dictatorship. She becomes conscious of it through her lover, Emilio: 'Emilio hablaba, le explicaba lo que había pasado en este país desde que ganaron los franquistas, cómo desaparecieron muchos hombres de los pueblos andaluces sólo porque tenían callos en las manos' (Roig 1986a: 106). Emilio, who does not belong to the working class but who aligns himself with their struggle, opens Natàlia's eyes to what they have suffered.

In response to Natàlia's question '¿Crees que esto se acabará algún día?'—'esto' meaning social injustice brought about by the dictatorship—Emilio answers with a French song 'Le Temps des cerises'[99] that gives the novel its title. He interprets what the writer meant by it:

> Él sabía que después del combate habría una terrible represión […] y deseaba que llegase el tiempo de las

[99] The song was written in 1866 in France by Jean-Baptiste Clément, with music by Antoine Renard. Associated with the Commune of Paris, it became a revolutionary song based on the metaphor '*time of cherries*' which was associated with life after a change in social and economic conditions. A stanza is reproduced in the novel:
Quand vous en serez au temps des cerises / Si vous n'aimez pas les chagrins d'amour / Evitez les belles / Moi qui ne crains pas les peines cruelles / Je ne vivrai point sans souffrir un jour / Quand vous en serez au temps des cerises / Vous aurez aussi des chagrins d'amour (Roig 1986a: 127-128)
When you are at the time of cherries / If you do not like the sorrows of love / Avoid the beautiful ones / I who do not fear the cruel punishments / I will not live without suffering one day / When you are at the time of cherries / You will also have sorrows of love. [Translation is mine]

> cerezas, la primavera de la felicidad. El poeta no ignoraba, continuó Emilio, que en el tiempo de las cerezas también habría penas de amor, pero lo deseaba. (Roig 1986a: 128)

Emilio, like the poet, is willing to make the necessary sacrifices for the prospect of social justice, even if the utopian 'time of the cherries' is not wholly perfect. This takes us of the ethical reasons that motivate some characters to become political activists, as examined below, and the fact that conflict is unavoidable. Reviewing May '68 in its fortieth anniversary, Amador Fernández-Savater, following Lyotard, affirms that social change 'es un problema de metamorfosis. […] un cambio de piel. Una metamorfosis que sería completamente equivocado ver como un proceso feliz, lineal o necesario, porque es alegre y dolorosa a un tiempo' (Fernández-Savater 2018: online).

In Natàlia's family context, the struggle for social justice and against Francoism is never mentioned because her father would not allow such a topic to be discussed. Natàlia's father 'había tenido un pasado rojo que ella intuía por palabras y conversaciones sueltas. Pero de aquello no quedaba nada. […] Cuando todo acabó, Joan Miralpeix dijo que había que vivir, "a mí que me dejen tranquilo"' (Roig 1986a: 131). Joan Miralpeix does not thrive under the dictatorship because he was on the winning side in the war, but because after his own experience of defeat—of suffering and sacrifice—he internalises the '*do not get into politics*'[100] discourse of Franco's dictatorship, and becomes a fearful conformist.

[100] 'Usted haga como yo y no se meta en política,' a line attributed to dictator Francisco Franco when meeting Sabino Alonso Fueyo, director of the Falangist newspaper *Arriba*.

Joan fought on the Republican side during the war and subsequently had to suffer the brutal reprisals. 'Joan Miralpeix había regresado muy cansado de aquella guerra tan sucia. […] tres años en un campo de concentración que no olvidaría nunca' (Roig 1986a: 150). He becomes a victim of the post-war terror campaign that forces him to give up and abide by the dictatorship's rules:

> Había que dejar bien atrás los aires que les habían traído tantas desgracias. Había que alterar el pensamiento, había que comenzar a hablar de otra manera, a vestirse como ellos querían, encerrarse en casa, dormir, sumergirse en un largo y profundo sueño, no salir a la calle, pues la calle era de ellos—la única revancha posible: ganar dinero—, había que saludar como ellos decían, ir a la iglesia […] quemar los libros que no les gustaban, había que suponer que tu lengua no valía para nada […] y levantar el brazo. (Roig 1986a: 150)

Unlike Tusquets, Roig explicitly presents the idiosyncrasies of the Catalan struggle under the dictatorship through Joan Miralpeix's decision to renounce both his individual and collective identities in order to survive.[101] Carmiña Palerm divides the characters in *El temps de les cireres* between 'those who want to remember and those who need to forget the traumatic past in order to survive the present' (2004: 162). However, my analysis here is different from her reading when she considers that 'Natàlia's father has

[101] For a comparison between Roig (in *L'hora violeta*) and Tusquets (in *Para no volver*) in their treatment of the Catalan particularities, see e.g. Melgar-Forester (2001-2002).

voluntarily plummeted into a state of "sleep" which is a way of forgetting the past' (Palerm 2004: 162).

In *El temps de les cireres,* Joan is reconciled to his fate. The word reconciliation has a double meaning: it can suggest 'coming to terms with, but it can also refer to passivity, in which one seeks to make the other passive' (Ahmed 2004: 35). Although the term was frequently used in the first sense by the hegemonic discourses both during the dictatorship and the Transition (with the intention of putting an end to the division between winners and losers), the authors in this study allude to the second meaning of the word when describing society's reconciliation with the State.

Roig depicts the forced privatisation of Joan's ideology, and she puts forward the idea (much more accepted today than it was when she wrote the novel), expressed by Michael Richards, that '[p]rudence, born out of a more or less subconscious sense of fear and adhering to the motto "no hay que meterse en nada" (one mustn't get involved in anything), is, it could be argued, somewhat different from consent' (2002: 111).

Joan's suffering and sacrifice reappear when Natàlia, his daughter, participates in a demonstration at the university of Barcelona in support of the workers in Asturias and, inevitably, gets in trouble. There are 'grises' everywhere and the violence around her is described in brutal terms.

> Los policías sacudían con furia, una y otra vez, siempre delante del mismo punto, justo frente a ellos. […] Los que sacudían no sabían qué pegaban, como si golpeasen a seres inmateriales a los que se les había mandado destruir, reducir a la nada. Los estudiantes caían al suelo y las porras

> continuaban machacando a los bultos inertes. (Roig 1986a: 115)

Natàlia is terrified but, unlike her father, she does not turn her back on this atrocity and reconcile herself with the situation, nor does she privatise her feelings and frustration, and thus distance herself from the collective. She overcomes her own fear by doing exactly the opposite: directly confronting the 'grises' and allying herself with the others in the fight.

The triumphalism of some scenes, similar to the one in Tusquets's analysed above, gives a hopeful picture of a liberated and empowered Natàlia:

> Natàlia gritó como no lo había hecho nunca […] como si se quitara de encima todos los silencios de su casa, gritaba para borrarlo todo, sin vergüenza […] Natàlia gritaba contra su pasado, contra las iras de su padre, contra lo que ella había sido. Y no tenía miedo. (Roig 1986a: 117)

When Joan realises that his daughter has been imprisoned, he immediately laments: '"es por política". Pero él no volvería a todo eso, lo tenía bien enterrado en el fondo de su mente. Y ahora venía Natàlia […] para hacerle recobrar el olor del pasado…' (Roig 1986a: 148). As we have seen in Chapter One, leaving the past behind is impossible, and Joan Miralpeix's attempt to do so fails as a result of Natàlia's actions. His reconciliation with the status quo, which reproduces the depoliticised discourse of Francoism, is not (despite all his efforts) passed on to his daughter.

Joan and Natàlia Miralpeix make different decisions and hold divergent attitudes, which widen the breach between them. They are one example of how, in the novels in this study, the classic generational differences between

parents and children turn into ideological conflicts, in which the morality of the characters' decisions and attitudes in the context of the dictatorship and the post-Franco period are at stake. This breach is even wider in the antagonistic father/son relationship narrated in Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria,* which also becomes a clash of masculinities.

Julián, the protagonist's father, represents the Francoist men who lived through the Civil War—we are told he was an 'alférez provisional'[102]—and who became postwar's winners during the dictatorship, with a sense of complete entitlement. Enrique, on the other hand, stands for those children who defied their parents by making a moral choice to adopt an anti-Francoist position.

During the dictatorship, people adhered to Francoist dogmas not only to protect their own privileges but also to prosper in society. Julián epitomises this latter behaviour. Enrique, the protagonist, describes his father as a mere cog in the dictatorship's machinery, who survives and thrives by constantly adapting to the system. For this reason, Enrique berates his father:

> [de] tu mediocridad, [de] tu complejo y [de] tus odios; […] tu falta de hombría, tu incapacidad para ser algo más que ese funcionario que ha escalado 'los-más-altos-puestos-directivos' a base de lamer el culo y de enchufes. (Ortiz 1986a: 19-20)

Julián's characteristics—mean, grey, mediocre and opportunistic—match a common description of the middle ranks under the dictatorship, a bureaucratic

[102] During the Spanish Civil War, the term 'alférez provisional' (provisional lieutenant) was coined for those officers who voluntarily enlisted in the rebels' ranks. Given the numerous casualties as the conflict continued, they obtained the position of lieutenant immediately due to their middling or higher level of education.

body that, as we know, was not purged after Franco's death and continued to make up part of the successive governments during the Transition.

Enrique, an anti-Francoist activist is taken to a psychiatric hospital for reasons that we will analyse below. In the first part of *Luz de la memoria*, the psychiatrist who is treating Enrique gathers and records his relatives' opinions of him. Using the report as a device, the novel also offers the description that Julián gives of his son.

Julián states that Enrique's problems originated at university—in which Enrique enrols against his father's will—and, evoking the Spanish anti-enlightenment tradition of book-burning that was so embedded in Franco's dictatorship, he exclaims: '¡Si viera usted qué libros me traía por casa cuando apenas acababa de cumplir los diecisiete años! La primera vez que se los pillé, ¡a la lumbre fueron todos!' (Ortiz 1986a: 51). His father condemns any kind of reflective activity that could lead to critical thinking:

> ¡Demasiado tiempo libre tienen y por eso son así de inútiles! Yo lo he repetido muchas veces, ¡una guerra, una guerra os vendría bien a vosotros, para que os dierais cuenta de lo que vale ganarlo y no creáis que todo el monte es orégano! (Ortiz 1986a: 51)

Enrique's father reproduces the most basic and structural Francoist justification of the Civil War. War is presented here both as an initiation into manhood and as a solution to national problems. It is implied that the Civil War created stability after a previous social fall from grace. By refusing to conform with the regime created by that war, Enrique becomes politicised. Nothing could be worse than that for the regime—as his father well illustrates.

Showing signs of the anti-intellectualism that characterised the dictatorship, Julián affirms that Enrique should be working hard, rather than going to university and reading books, much less learning about Marxism:

> Yo sabía que andaba desde hacía mucho tiempo dándole vueltas al marxismo y a todas esas historias, pero en ningún momento me figuré que fuera capaz de cooperar directamente con los enemigos de España; así como se lo digo... […] prefiero verle aquí, en el hospital, a verle luchando contra esa paz que tanta sangre nos ha costado. (Ortiz 1986a: 53)

Julián refers here to 'peace' and 'order', words used in the post-war discourse to describe (and justify) the calm lives that the victors of the war led under a regime that was extremely violent for others. As mentioned above, peace and order had supposedly been achieved by the winners, and any resistance to the violence suffered by the losers was immediately seen as a threat to that order.

The 'enemies of Spain' who Enrique's father blames for the country's disorder are the members of the PC—the 'rojos' who turned out to be one of Franco's obsessions.[103] Julián exemplifies the common institutional response to the attitudes and actions of the working class, a response that strengthened the upper classes' identification with Francoism.

[103] Franco was convinced that a 'Judeo-Masonic-Communist' conspiracy not only made the Civil War 'inevitable' but also continued to threaten Spain after 1939 and until 1975. In March 1940, Franco created a special repressive framework to fight it in the 'Ley para la Represión de la Masonería y el Comunismo' (Law for the repression of Freemasonry and Communism). Franco's words in his last speech given as a response to international criticism for the executions of five convicts of ETA and the FRAP in Plaza de Oriente, Madrid, testify to his obsession: 'Todo obedece a una conspiración masónica-izquierdista en la clase política en contubernio con la subversión comunista-terrorista en lo social' (Reproduced in *Diario de Extremadura*, Cáceres, 01/10/75).

The figure of the PC militant is one of the 'subjetividades propias de la vida bajo la dictadura' (Labrador 2017: 212). In his study of 15 novels from 1976 to 2003–not one of which is written by a woman–, Caprarella explains that '[e]l verdadero *boom* del PCE como sujeto literario e, incluso, cinematográfico, arranca a mediados de los setenta' (2007: 611).[104] PC men are key characters in Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria*[105] and Roig's *L'hora violeta* (both examined more closely below) and their sacrifices (the price they had to pay for their struggle in terms of psychological trauma, imprisonment, and relinquishment of their ideals, etc.) are a core issue in these texts, but it is not difficult to find this sacrifice explicitly mentioned in other novels as well.[106]

In an analysis of three novels of the Transition–Félix de Azúa's *Historia de un idiota contada por él mismo o El contenido de la felicidad* (1986), Vicente Molina Foix's *La Quincena Soviética* (1988), and Andrés Trapiello's *El buque fantasma* (1992)–Constantino Bértolo finds a depiction of Communist activism that belittles, stigmatises and caricatures those who

[104] Caprarella's choice could depend on subjective taste, but when reading the article one realises that he is attempting to offer an overall picture of the period, and he includes novels he finds lacking in literary quality: 'Entre las muchas novelas que se han ocupado de esta última etapa del franquismo, una mucho menos lograda que la de […] y que utiliza un sinfín de tópicos argumentales es […]' (Caprarella 2007: 615); 'La escena es de teatro del absurdo' (Caprarella 2007: 617). This is another example of a general analysis based exclusively on male authors.

[105] Ortiz's *En días como estos* will not be analysed here because, even though it shares the themes of active resistance, sacrifice, and the dichotomy between idealism and loss of faith, which I will comment on here with regards to *Luz de la memoria* o *L'hora violeta*, the fact that this novel deals more specifically with Basque guerrilla fighting and terrorism, makes the aforementioned subjects even more complex. To approach the topic of the Basque struggle with the required attention and depth, I would have to deviate from the main argument of this thesis.

[106] In Montero's *Crónica del desamor* we find characters like Juan, one of the men with whom Ana becomes involved, introduced as 'deshecho' because of 'su pasado de militante antifranquista, la cárcel, las palizas subterráneas de Gobernación, todo eso que formaba su mito y su condena' (Montero 2010: 32). In Ortiz's *Arcángeles* we find a direct reference to the characters in *Luz de la memoria*, published ten years earlier. Enrique, the protagonist, and Carlos, his comrade in *Luz de la memoria*, prefigure Gabriel's struggle in *Arcángeles* ten years later: 'Fue Carlos o tal vez Enrique, o los dos y otros muchos quienes tontamente y porque así son las cosas escupieron sangre una y otra vez en los sótanos de ese lugar ahora decorosamente reconstruido y limpio para que pervivan de algún modo gemidos de cárceles y calabozos inquisitoriales' (Ortiz 1986: 92).

took part in it. He argues that the use of plot conventions in these novels is conditioned by 'decantaciones ideológicas que manifiestan lecturas y prejuicios extranarrativos que tiñen la mirada de los narradores' (Bértolo 2017: 504).

The objective and the effect of these three novels (and others of the kind) is 'la neutralización y degradación estética de la militancia y el compromiso político' (Bértolo 2017: 506). According to Bértolo, it is the new context of "normalización democrática" that allows this 'burla, desdoro, desconsideración y marcada altanería' (2017: 509) towards such an important political phenomenon.

I would argue that, on the contrary, the novels in this study approach the 'normalización democrática' as an event that provoked a *desencanto* which they seek to understand. They do value the transformative power of leftist ideologies, and they highlight the fact that political activism constructs 'una vivencia a partir del ser como un ser y un estar entre y con los otros […] una expresión del "nosotros" como valor de vida' (Bértolo 2017: 509-10). In the novels examined by Bértolo, first-person narration becomes the dominant narrative paradigm, one that—through the aforementioned metaphorical approach—only seeks 'el confortable espejo de una superioridad moral, estética o política' (Bértolo 2017: 505). In contrast, the novels under analysis here portray PC militants empathically as people who took on Francoism. The authors in my study, unlike the ones analysed by Bértolo, recognise the collective project of a participatory democracy, and explore the reasons for its failure with the aim of understanding its consequences in individuals and in society rather than to distance themselves from it.

If the depiction of the winners of the Transition tend to follow a pattern in the novels in this study, all tallying especially in their commodified features, the losers' subjectivities emerge in their complexities, as I will illustrate in the analysis of Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria* and Roig's *L'hora violeta*.

Ortiz's *Luz de la memoria* (written between September 1972 and July 1974 but not published until 1976) articulates the life of its protagonist Enrique around his response to the evolution of his contemporary reality. Enrique, as a PC man, is another 'cuerpo biopolítico del franquismo' (Labrador 2017: 45). Written before the normalisation of democracy in Spain, the novel incorporates some of the themes that would later on become 'convenciones argumentales'[107] of the depiction of Communist activism but it does not do so in an ironic way; rather it refers to the 'in-corporación de la dictadura en lo más propio del ser' (Labrador 2017: 45).

Besides his relationship with his father, mentioned above, the series of conflicts Enrique faces are related to his political affiliation and activism. As a university student, Enrique disagrees with the idea of 'centralismo democrático', which he associates with opportunism: 'temblaba casi de rabia al referirme a las maniobras de los revisionistas, a sus embustes, a su política traidora, tendente sólo a engañar y desorientar a las masas' (Ortiz 1986a:

[107] In his article, Bértolo lists what Caprarella calls 'convenciones argumentales': 'el entusiasmo inicial, la universidad como espacio iniciático, la captación de los nuevos militantes, el destacado rol de la atracción amorosa y sexual en la convivencia grupal y, de manera especial, entre militantes de distinta "extracción social", los escenarios de la protesta intrauniversitaria, las manifestaciones, la represión brutal del policía, las huidas, las detenciones, "la caída" como clímax, la rigidez, vigilancia y puritanismo de las organizaciones respecto a la vida privada de los militantes, la autocrítica como autorrepresión, el dogmatismo y acordonamiento en las exposiciones ideológicas, la repetición rutinaria de fórmulas doctrinales, las delaciones, el proceso de desengaño, la decepción, el abandono final.' (Bértolo 2017: 502-3)

56).[108] Enrique becomes suspicious of other colleagues and their intentions, obsessed by 'una antigua y repetida imagen, la del trepador, la del poder deformándolo todo' (1986a: 57). It is easy to detect here a hint of those who will become the winners of the Transition.

In addition to a rejection of opportunism, in Ortiz's novel we find a critique of the increasingly dogmatic structure of some of the factions within the Communist movement. Both the opportunism and the dogmatism of the intellectual elite, repeatedly depicted in some of the novels in this study, eventually caused a breach with the proletarian masses.

Enrique's encounter with an older militant called Anselmo whom he meets in Asturias illustrates this rupture between social classes. Anselmo is a veteran fighter: 'panadero, quince años de cárcel, luchador en el treinta y cuatro, la mano perdida en el treinta y seis' (1986a: 91) who is completely detached from the growing number of internal debates that are essential for Enrique and other ideologists like him:

> Aquí hay mucho desconcierto, mucha desorientación. A mí eso de China o de los otros me la trae floja. […] tú insistías: la traición al proletariado, el revisionismo moderno, y él asentía y chupaba el cigarro siempre apagado en los labios y te miraba. (1986a: 92-93)[109]

[108] All the following quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

[109] In *L'hora violeta,* a similar discussion takes place when a character also reproaches intellectual Ferrán for not connecting with the proletariat: '"No podréis salvar el partido, la gangrena es profunda. Habláis, habláis mucho y no os dais cuenta de que a vuestro alrededor sólo hay indiferencia." Germinal parecía un profeta enloquecido por la arena del desierto. "Ya no recordáis el internacionalismo proletario. ¿Qué quiere decir ser comunista, hoy en día? Pactáis con Dios y con el diablo, y os lo harán pagar caro…".' (Roig 1986b: 186)

The Civil War had an indelible impact on the lives of older Communists' but not on younger generations. From the 1960s onwards, 'la militancia comunista experimentó no sólo una renovación generacional, sino también una especie de ruptura cultural y sentimental' (Molinero 2007: 210). Enrique and Anselmo's differences are not only generational but also related to their experience of the dictatorship and their respective positions and functions within the party. Anselmo is identified with the proletariat and contributes physically as a member of the masses, while Enrique, like the two main male characters in Roig's *L'hora violeta*, takes part in the theoretical discussions about the organisation.

One of the options advanced by anti-Francoists to put an end to the never-ending dictatorship was armed struggle. Even if Enrique agrees that 'lo que no se puede es seguir así, año tras año, haciéndonos viejos como se han hecho viejos otros antes que nosotros' (1986a: 73), he resists the use of violence. Despite his resistance, Enrique admits he feels afraid and frustrated by the imbalance of power between anti-Francoists and Francoists: 'llegado el momento nos quedaremos como siempre con los brazos cruzados, viendo cómo ellos con toda tranquilidad, ¡pobrecitos, al fin y al cabo son seres humanos!, se nos cepillan a todos sin ningún remilgo' (1986a: 73).

Enrique is committed to a psychiatric hospital because, in order to prove to himself that he can shoot a gun, he indiscriminately kills a dog.[110] As a result, previous traumatic experiences related to the anti-Francoist struggled come back to him, leaving him speechless. According to his family (and the state) Enrique needs treatment. Labrador highlights how important the

[110] My reading of Enrique's killing of the dog differs here from Claire Laffaille's: 'Enrique mata al animal para ensayar su propia muerte' (2015: 82).

'gestión biopolítica del estado' was during the Transition, controlling social misfits and members of the younger generations and forcing them into submission: 'una entidad ajena al cuerpo social, amenazante, que debe ser contenida, intervenida, manejada, usando para ello policías y cárceles, además de las nuevas formas de poder clínico—psiquiatras, médicos, educadores—' (2017: 67-68).

In the psychiatric hospital, Enrique is unable to answer when a therapist asks questions about his life, and in his mind the medical examination gradually transforms into a police interrogation back in the DGS:[111]

> quieres gritar, te afanas por dejar salir el sonido y abres la boca repetidas veces como si quisieras que viniese el hombre bueno de la bata blanca con sus golpecitos en la espalda, sus "ahora vas a colaborar", pero sólo puedes percibir aquel otro grito, sí audible, sí real, aquel grito ante la patada, la amenaza, aquel grito que tampoco parecía despertar ningún eco, allá en la Dirección donde los muros no eran blancos sino absolutamente grises, obscurecidos, sucios, y aquel grito que entonces por vergüenza, por

[111] The Royal Post Office building located at the Puerta del Sol, which now is the headquarters of the Government of the Community of Madrid, used to be the 'Dirección General de Seguridad' (Directorate-General of Security), a detention centre and torture facility under the dictatorship.
In May 2016, the Forum for Memory asked the political groups present at the Assembly of Madrid, to agree to the installation of a commemorative plaque to 'las personas que sufrieron violencia, vejación, persecución o privación de libertad por ejercer sus derechos, por defender las libertades y la democracia.' The motion was rejected 65 to 64. The representatives of Podemos and PSM—PSOE in Madrid—supported it, arguing that it was necessary not only to honour the memory of those who fought for freedom but also to build a country which respects human rights and anchors its democratic commitment for future generations. Both PP and Ciudadanos voted against it, referring to the spirit of national reconciliation of 1978 and using the speech of Marcelino Camacho, CCOO's historic leader, in the Cortes Generales on the day of the Amnesty Law (see both articles by Torrús 2016). Their refusal mirrors what has previously been argued with regards to Arzalluz and the representativeness of the Parliament during the Transition.

> machismo, por hay-que-resistir, querías contener y se te escapaba, resbalaba de ti mismo y crecía. (1986a: 46)

The narrator highlights how a patriarchal sense of heroism makes Enrique resist his urge to cry, reminding us of how the 'triunfalismo de la cruzada' is inherited—even unwillingly—by every man raised under the dictatorship.

The two interrogations overlap. Enrique's inability to speak reflects his inability to overcome violence that was inflicted on him in the past precisely with the intention of forcing him to talk. The cry of pain, barely restrained under torture, is now stuck in his throat and prevents him from uttering a sound, in a depiction of traumatised behaviour (specifically, the idea that traumatised people keep silent and are unable to talk about their experiences).

The two levels of Enrique's reality (past and present) merge during the doctor's questioning—with the overlap of the two distinctive colours: the police uniforms' grey and the doctor's white coat:

> Sientes el puñetazo en el vientre y te doblas ahora […] Sólo queremos que nos digas dos nombrecitos. […] Sientes ahora el puñetazo justo en la boca del estómago y te doblas de nuevo. El de gris que todo el tiempo ha permanecido callado, te sujeta. Oyes la voz del hombre de blanco, sentado en la silla junto a la cama, que insiste: —¿Desde cuándo entraste en la organización? No me contestes, si no quieres, pero ten en cuenta que esto no es un interrogatorio policial. (1986a: 75)

The narration helps us feel the individual experience intensely while also imagining the collective experience of clandestine militancy.

Enrique has participated in every phase of the anti-Francoist struggle and when he decides to leave his militancy behind and abandon the party, he does not know what to do. According to Pilar, his ex-wife, Enrique becomes a social misfit: 'cuando salió de la cárcel, escéptico y sin nada que hacer, tuvo que colocarse en ese trabajo horrible y supongo que eso terminó por destrozarle los nervios' (1986a: 99). When he gets out of the psychiatric hospital, he feels the same maladjustment once again.

The second part of the book, entitled 'El amor, la lucha política' opens with a quote by Novalis: 'La ola de la alegría se rompió / contra la roca de un tedio infinito.' [112] This ennui or *desencanto* mixed with anxiety—'esa irrefrenable sensación de fracaso, de tiempo muerto' (1986a: 149)—prevents Enrique from accepting his new job—'maravilloso trabajo conseguido por su padre' (1986a: 149)—and leads him to seek escape through the consumption of drugs.

Enrique moves in temporarily with some of Pilar's friends who live in Ibiza, the cradle of the Spanish hippie movement, while Pilar, ahead of a period in which art sponsorship would gather momentum, has opened an art gallery in Madrid. They exemplify the two forks of the 'generación bífida', Pilar being the one who 'deseaba[n] la revolución, y fantaseaba[n] con ella, pero lo que quería[n] realmente era la sociedad de consumo y el capitalismo avanzado' (Labrador 2017: 121).

Enrique, a victim of his own unfulfilled expectations, his *desencanto*, appears especially vulnerable to drugs, in particular to:

[112] These verses are quite different in the English version as originally translated by the Scottish writer George MacDonald in 1897: 'Broke lay the merry wave of human bliss / On Death's inevitable, rocky cliff'.

> esa capacidad suya para dar la impresión aletargante y suave de que nada sucede, de que todo está en orden y realmente es así […] olvidado de aquello, de lo que nunca haremos ninguno de nosotros, de eso que está ahí fuera y que probablemente es mentira, eso que quizá nunca existió. (1986a: 151)

In two short scenes named simply episodes A and B, we witness Enrique's experience with LSD. Psychoactive drugs, seen as tools for self-construction, were in fashion in the 70s. Moreover, LSD offered a much sought-after form of therapy, especially for people who belonged to underground artistic/cultural movements: 'Permite revaluar la propia identidad, analizar los fantasmas del pasado, los traumas educativos, la violencia del franquismo inscrita en cada cuerpo' (Labrador 2017: 216).

The experience of taking LSD, however, provokes 'una gran tensión anímica para el sujeto' (Labrador 2017: 216), who is prompted to re-evaluate his/her way of thinking about life. Labrador highlights that this re-evaluation entails a huge risk by quoting Pau Malvido[113]—the *poète maudit* of the moment according to his own definition—:

> Si esos esquemas eran muy importantes para él, al derrumbarse, arrastraban a toda su persona en la caída. Se trata 'del horror con o sin *trip* que produce la ruptura' de las ideas recibidas para quien piensa que 'son lo más importante.' (Labrador 2017: 216)

[113] Pau Maragall Mira, younger brother of Pasqual Maragall (future mayor of Barcelona and president of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the Catalan Regional Government) is the author of *Nosotros, los malditos*, published in 2006, 12 years after his death.

Enrique evaluates his entire life during his lysergic trip, and tries to decide what to do next. The quotation that opens the following part of the novel prefigures the tone of the novel's ending: *¡Ven, pues, tristeza, / dulce tristeza! / Cual si fueras mi hija te meceré en mi pecho. / Pensé en abandonarte, / en traicionarte, / pero ahora, por encima del mundo, / es a ti a quien más amo*.[114]

As in *Arcángeles* (published later), in which the narrator/author asks Gabriel to help her write the end of her novel, Enrique turns to Pilar: 'Me gustaría que me ayudases a encontrar un buen final para mi posible novela' (1986a: 181). Enrique presents Pilar with two diametrically opposed possible endings, each of which comes to signify the extremes of his bifurcated generation, and each of which is equally marked by the ravages of his *desencanto*. One is a heroic option which would lead Enrique to fight against a military coup in a faraway country: 'a luchar por esa revolución en la que, sin embargo, ya no creía demasiado' (1986a: 184). The other option, which in Enrique's opinion is 'más soso, pero quizá más realista' (1986a: 184) and also 'el más probable y, aunque algo cutre, el más rentable' (1986a: 185) is to reconcile with his ex-wife and take charge of his father-in-law's important and lucrative business. The ironic tone of his disillusionment is obvious: 'Enrique, gordo y satisfecho, alejado el infarto y las preocupaciones, puede escribir su propia novela desde su madurez con esa nostalgia tan encantadora que adquieren los burgueses cuando de jóvenes han vivido mucho, algo malrauxiano y definitivo' (1986a: 184-185). This option suggests the same

[114] 'Come then, Sorrow! / Sweetest Sorrow! / Like an own babe I nurse thee on my breast: / I thought to leave thee / And deceive thee, / But now of all the world I love thee best,' written by Keats, it is the final stanza of the thirtieth canto of the poem *Endymion* published in 1818.

tendency towards compromise and accommodation that we saw represented by Marcos/Hänsel in Tusquets's *El mismo mar*.

There is, however, a third and more dramatic option. This occurs to Enrique after a dream that brings a traumatic childhood memory back to him: the image of his neighbour's corpse lying on the floor of the courtyard after she jumped from her window wearing high heels.

> Tal vez fuera bonito terminar la novela con ese sueño. Sobre todo si pudiera describirlo tal y como lo veo. Es muy sencillo: un cuerpo que cae, una sensación de vacío al dar las vueltas por el aire y luego el golpe sobre el suelo… ¡Ah! ¡Y los zapatos! Creo que lo más importante es el detalle de los zapatos. (1986a: 185)

The fall which the *poète maudit* Malvido refers above is symbolically present in this other ending.

Malvido affirms that if someone's way of thinking about life—principles, values, ideology, dreams—were the most important thing to him (let me add: or her), then the destruction of this way of thinking after a re-evaluation prompted by LSD can bring the person down. Enrique's attitudes towards life were indeed vital to him, and once he sees himself unable to mend everything that the dictatorship broke, or to adapt to the changing times, his fall is inevitable.

Like many members of his generation, Enrique does not know how to reconcile his imagined reality with reality itself. The final section of the novel opens with a quotation from Arthur Rimbaud's *Les illuminations* (1870), one of the three original *poètes maudits*. In his *Culpables por la literatura,*

Germán Labrador highlights the influence that Rimbaud had on underground writers, helping them to 'ajustar simbólicamente las tensiones que los enfrentan con su tiempo' (2017: 194).

Despite Pilar's good sense and sound advice—'[d]ebes intentar adaptarte, asumir de una vez que las cosas son como son por poco que nos gusten' (1986a: 205)—Enrique does not seem to be able to overcome his *desencanto* and sense of frustration. One night, after a party, Enrique takes Pilar to the countryside. Leaving her behind, he climbs up an abandoned bell tower, from which he cries out 'Laaa muuueeerte es un aaacto liiibre' (1986a: 211). This cry for death represents perhaps the only possible free act he can undertake.

From the top of the tower, Enrique thinks out aloud, contemplating his own personal desperation in relation to his own inability to shoot a gun and kill someone else:

> Yo estoy seguro de que tirar a un hombre es facilísimo. Tirar al centro de una diana y acertar es complicado, pero matar a un hombre es una cosa fácil. […] Suponte, Pilar, que este Enrique que está aquí, está cansado, suponte que no sabré, que no podré dar ese tiro. Estoy cansado, Pilar, y ahora además tengo mucho sueño. (1986a: 213)

The end of the novel does not explicitly narrate what happens next, but it reproduces the third ending proposed earlier by Enrique, only this time with men's shoes in the frame: 'La gran sábana blanca; la mancha roja que se extiende, que rosea, que se hace de plástico. Los dos pies, algo separados, uno de ellos calzado con una sandalia de hombre y el otro descalzo' (1986a: 214). Returning to Malvido's fall, this metafictional ending reveals a broken

subjectivity, the total disruption that Enrique's experience under Franco provoked to his psyche.

Like Ortiz, Roig reminds us of the sacrifice made by members of the Communist Party, and she thus broaches the subject of class struggle. However, she does not do so by creating a straightforward narrative of heroism—something that, in an effort to recognise the sacrifice of the leftists and to give voice to the losers, has been recurrent in more recent works of fiction.

In *L'hora violeta,* Natàlia and Norma are the 'testigos sospechosos' who talk about their relationships with Jordi and Ferrán respectively. It is through them—although Ferrán speaks in a first person narration at times—that we hear the men's voices and understand their discussions inside the PSUC (Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña - Unified Socialist Party of Catalunya).[115] Her novel also reflects a gendered perspective on sacrifice, as we will see, highlighting the intersection between class and gender.

In the beginning, Jordi and Ferrán's relationship to the Party is a moral one: they both state that they became Communist militants for ethical reasons. Jordi, who has left his wife Agnès for Natàlia, insists on declaring 'yo soy comunista por ética' (Roig 1986b: 70)[116] and so does Ferrán, Norma's husband:

[115] The PSUC was born on 23 July 1936 out of the merger of four workers' organisations (Partido Comunista de Cataluña, Unió Socialista de Catalunya, Federación Socialista Catalana del Partido Socialista Obrero Español, and Partit Català Proletari). The link with the Communist Party is clear, since half of its executive committee was composed of members of the PC central committee. The PSUC was legalised on 3 May 1977 and was dissolved in 1987. Montserrat Roig was a member from 1968 to 1970, when she left the party tired of the secretiveness of its members and continued her activism out of it.

[116] All the following quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

> [S]oy comunista por ética, había dicho a Norma por la mañana, y no puedo faltar a la reunión. Ésta era la razón de que hubiera estado en la cárcel, de que hubiera soportado las torturas de la Policía. Por ética. (1986b: 185)

Meetings, which are so vital to Jordi and Ferrán, progressively become a mere formality, but they do not seem to realise this fact and it is both Natàlia and Norma who highlight the change. If, during the dictatorship, it was common practice among the Left to allow decisions to be taken collectively, when it came to discussing the best way to take part in the transition to democracy after Franco's death (especially after the 1977 referendum and the party's legalisation), this collective decision-making was only preserved at the level of appearances.

Jordi confesses to Natàlia that '[l]as discusiones sobre cómo había que hacer la Prensa del partido, ahora que parecía que estábamos cerca de la ruptura—como decían los dictadores de consignas—, duraban horas y horas' (1986b: 93). While Jordi feels confident about this coming 'ruptura'—the traditional PC strategy based on mass mobilisation planned as a peaceful national strike followed by a turn towards democracy—, Natàlia does not.

In a flashback/inner monologue, Natàlia addresses Jordi:

> Los tiempos cambiaban y pronto saldríais de la madriguera. Se necesitaban artículos de fondo para estimular el debate, decías, la discusión interna. La gran familia del partido se ensancharía, y se adoptaban nuevas consignas, desechando las viejas como si fuesen trapos sucios que había que enterrar bajo el polvo y la ceniza. (1986b: 93)

Her viewpoint as an outsider is much more sceptical than Jordi's and she foresees a distortion of the Party's message; their long-lasting sacrifice will come to an end and their former values will be lost. Natàlia's lack of faith in Jordi's words anticipates what later happened to the Party.

Natàlia's increasing detachment from the Party discussions and from the formality of its procedures is shared by Norma:

> La otra noche, Ferrán entró en casa gritando. No era ésa su costumbre y me extrañó. ¡Hemos ganado!, me dijo. No sé si fue en aquel momento cuando me di cuenta por primera vez que su lucha ya no era la mía. (1986b: 177)

We witness Ferrán's delusional perspective on the situation through Norma in contrast with his first-person narration. The debates referred to here are between Leninism and Eurocommunism, two terms that implied completely different tactics. According to Ferrán, Leninism (his and Jordi's preferred option) won the dispute. 'Para Ferrán todo era cuestión de términos y de palabras' (1986b: 177), says Norma, revealing the fact that the defenders of Leninism might have won the debate, as Ferrán states, but that the Party leaders had already decided the tactics.[117] This exposes the devaluation of the political language referred to above, and the distance between the radical beliefs of activist members of the Party and the real intentions of politicians. The deception of the party members, illustrated by Jordi and Ferrán in *L'hora*

[117] Let us not forget that in 1977, the referendum's results had placed Suárez in a position of strength that the opposition could not ignore. The leaders of the Left estimated that they had no option but to negotiate with the president on his terms and thus to bury their demands for a break with the regime (a proper 'ruptura'). In the first year after Franco's death the PC was still illegal and was concerned about its marginalisation from the transition process. The PC leaders moderated their traditional strategy, replacing it with the 'ruptura pactada', a break with Francoism negotiated at an elite level in parliament, rather than through mass action. '[E]l deseo de superar una clandestinidad que tenía unos costes humanos terribles, al tiempo que impedía desarrollar la acción política, influía notablemente en esta tendencia, que no disminuyó con el paso del tiempo' (Molinero 2007: 203).

violeta, is undoubtedly one of the main factors that led to the members' subsequent *desencanto* and the party's failure in the new political scenario.

We observe a stark contrast between, on the one hand, what the PC-PSUC used to be when it was fighting against the dictatorship, the values it used to encourage, its symbolic (and material) power, and on the other hand, what became once the transition was being planned and the consensus came into play. Female characters are, from their position of 'testigos sospechosos', the ones who recognise the simulacrum more easily. In *L'hora violeta,* this is reflected in Natàlia's harsh words to Jordi:

> ¿De qué sirvieron tantos años de lucha y de entrega si la política se convirtió en un asunto sólo para profesionales? Surgieron nuevos militantes que asediaron como buitres los mejores cargos. […] Y no solamente llegaba la hora de los mediocres, de las tácticas que nos arrastraban al pacto y al compromiso, sino que algunos líderes adquirían una pátina de crueldad y de mezquindad. (1986b: 109-110)

Ultimately, the decision to sacrifice workers and morally committed intellectuals, who impeded efforts to create continuity between pre-Franco and post-Franco Spain, was a step that some leaders took in order to climb the new political ladder during the Transition, and the Transition became 'cosa de ellos' (the makers of the Transition, the 'elegidos' analysed above).

In *L'hora violeta*, the main reason why Jordi and Ferrán are blind to the decline of the Party is the fact that their circumscribed political views merge with their personal emotional inhibitions—the 'machismo' that is also highlighted by Ortiz's in *Luz de la memoria*—that I will comment on in Chapter Three.

As individuals who, on the one hand, are outside the Party, and, on the other hand, are emotionally attached to men who are members of it, women have a distinctive view, expressed here by Natàlia:

> Tú lo has sacrificado todo por el partido […] Un partido que era el gran útero dentro de la clandestinidad. El 'Partido'. […] Cuando los militantes más abnegados dicen 'el Partido', nunca se refieren a sí mismo, sino una especie de magma que se cierne sobre sus cabezas, un magma sin rostro concreto. Y, ¿cómo podemos luchar por una masa sin rostro? Explícamelo, Jordi. Anoche fallé al hablarte de la felicidad. Entre nosotros no se habla de eso. (1986b: 60-61)

Natàlia reproaches Jordi for having ignored the human aspects of the political and class struggle, and for having neglected the emotional side of their own lives. Referring to May 68, Fernández-Savater argues that: '[n]o hay macro sin micro. Los revolucionarios que trataron de introducir cambios sociales radicales sin tener en cuenta la cuestión de la subjetividad fracasaron estrepitosamente' (2018: online). This tendency to put ideology before emotions is considered a mistake in the works of the authors in this study. Roig's female characters lucidly describe an excess of ideology and a corresponding lack of emotionality among their male counterparts and they blame the misunderstandings between working class fighters and intellectuals as well as between men and women on this imbalance.

Moszczyńska-Dürst observes that in *L'hora violeta*,

> '[a] pesar de llevar una vida parecida a la de sus compañeros varones en al ámbito sociopolítico, las protagonistas no comparten con ellos su emocionalidad

> […] En el ámbito privado siguen siendo vistas por los protagonistas masculinos como seres irracionales, sentimentales y enigmáticos' (2017: 268).

What Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst does not say here is that female protagonists see male partners, in turn, as emotionally disable. Even when the narration is done from the point of view of a male character, he reveals or even admits his inhibitions.

Ferrán, for instance, describes himself as: 'un cachorro cuidado entre algodones. Una infancia blanda. Mi padre nos acostumbró a todos a pensar a través de él. […] hijo, si ves un accidente, pasa de largo, pues siempre hay complicaciones. No te líes' (Roig 1986b: 173). Ferrán applies it to the personal sphere, when confronting his sentimental conflicts with Norma: '*Pasa de largo*. Quizá también lo hago ahora. No quise mirar el cuerpo de Norma bajo las sábanas, ni oír cómo lloraba […] Pasa de largo ante Norma, ante su vitalidad, ante esa fuerza que *no comprendo*' (Emphasis added. Roig 1986b: 174).

In both the PSUC and in the PC, despite their left-wing nature and their centrality in the anti-Francoist fight, gender roles were regulated by power relations inherited from and constructed under the dictatorship. The parties expected women to be useful to their partners on any occasion:

> Nueve meses en el papel de mujer de preso […] Un tiempo sin movimiento, sólo la acción para hacer ver que era una compañera que no se dejaba abatir, siempre a punto, éste era el papel que la resistencia antifranquista exigía a las mujeres de los presos. Esperando el momento de ofrecerse al hombre que estaba al otro lado de las rejas. (1986b: 245)

Norma's role within the Party is reduced to her physical functions, and her sacrifice resonates with the reproductive role of women in society under the dictatorship.

The male/female relationships within the Party reproduce the power relations within society in general, as they show women's dependence on men's love. Men capitalise on the love of women, and that is why Agnès '[d]ejó de estudiar y se colocó en la guardería […] era necesario que Jordi se dedicase a la política' (1986b: 67).

If the anti-Francoist struggle made the idea of a democratic state possible, in these novels it was women who made the anti-Francoist struggle possible, as pointed out by Natàlia:

> Os observaba uno por uno. […] Sin casa, sin familia, tránsfugas al acecho, fortaleciéndose con virtudes morales que eran muy sólidas. Cualquier clase de debilidad habría sido muy mal vista. Cómo os admiraba. Algunos de vosotros teníais una mujer que os seguía a todas partes. O que sabía esperar. (1986b: 93)

In addition to paying attention to women who were more directly or visibly involved in activism, the authors in this study are also interested in showing the role of women as facilitators—a more domestic and affective role that has been pushed into the background as part of the personal sphere, in contrast with the men's political role in the public one. Gender division and love as a key element in establishing power relations between men and women in heteronormative relationships will be explored further in Chapter Three.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the narrative of the consensus through the analysis of the way the novels' female authors/narrators as 'testigos sospechosos' portray male protagonists of the Spanish Transition, underscoring their depiction as a 'generación bífida' by dividing them between winners and losers.

Firstly, I have shown how the novels reveal the mechanisms of selection and exclusion that the consensus entail, by comparing the exclusive and ostentatious lifestyle enjoyed by the winners of the Transition with the struggles of marginalised people. I have demonstrated how the novels cast the process negatively as an elite settlement in which those who make the Transition represent/act out the consensus, and they cast it insisting on the ideologic aspects of it. I have illustrated how neoliberal capitalism manifests itself in the narrators' portrayal of the winners and how in the novels, art sponsorship and artistic conformism lead to a decrease in the quality of art, working as an ideological legitimation of power for those who are part of the establishment.

The novels put forward social conflict by contrasting the winners' triumphalism with the lack of faith in the future felt by people in the margins. In including the invisible, the novels expose the deficiency of the narrative of the consensus, which assures that a win-win settlement able to represent the whole of society was reached.

Secondly, in contrast with the winners/makers of the Transition, I have examined the authors' portrayal of the sacrifice of the 'losers' in contrast to

the dominant narrative of 'equal suffering' of the consensus. They tell individual stories as not all equivalent, breaking the politically-motivated equation between the suffering and sacrifice experienced by winners and losers put forward in the Transition. The novels question the distribution of power in many ways, for instance, by the acknowledgment of the privileges of part of society at the expense of others.

Unlike the novels analysed by Bértolo, the ones in this study do not belittle, stigmatise or caricature the political commitment of the PC men, analysed in this chapter as 'cuerpo[s] biopolítico[s] del franquismo' (Labrador 2017: 45). Moreover, I have examined how the novels approach the 'normalización democrática' as an event that provoked a *desencanto* as a consequence of the *representative* rather than *participatory* democracy that the *process/discourse* achieved.

I have described how the authors in this study expose the political violence and the social costs of the dictatorship and the Transition, in an attempt once again to amend the lack of transmission argued in my introduction, manifested in Marta Sanz's words:

> Yo estoy absolutamente de acuerdo en que se ha hecho de la Transición un relato absolutamente blando, blanco y neutral. Y esto es muy peligroso. Gente muy ilustre, salvadores de la patria, que tomaron decisiones adecuadas en ese momento, para que las cosas pudieran cambiar, llámese Adolfo Suárez, llámese Santiago Carrillo que vino con la peluca desde Francia, llámese el rey como gran artífice de la Transición española, cuando en realidad yo creo que la democracia española es fruto del esfuerzo de los

> militantes antifranquistas durante muchas décadas. Esa especie de apología de la Transición vino a borrar de manera interesada, y para mí peligrosa, lo que había sido el compromiso político de mucha gente durante muchos años. (Interviewed in Touton 2018: 97).

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the novels in this study, far from reproducing this soft account of the Spanish Transition, do bring the anti-Francoist struggle to the fore as a vital element in the establishment of democracy.

Chapter 3. What was new and what was not in the 'new Spain'? The Francoist *pathos* and the importance of a *sentimental counter-education*

The *process/discourse* of the Transition succeeded in confining memory to private and domestic spaces, and in staging a reconciliation amongst members of the political elite that erased social conflict from discussions in the public sphere. This occurred both through the 'pact of forgetting' and the 'consensus', two *narrative interventions* that functioned in post-Franco Spain as integral interpretations of contemporary reality. Once these narratives had been imposed (and had overshadowed other possible readings), the official discourse was able to announce the birth of a 'new Spain', thus creating what I see as the third narrative that supports the transitional myth.

Eduardo Subirats calls this narrative 'la retórica del cambio' (2014: 24), drawing attention to the establishment's disingenuous insistence on praising the changes that had been brought by the Transition. As we have seen in the previous chapter, only the 'winners' of the Transition were able to fully enjoy such changes, while huge sectors of the population remained marginalised, not only because they were excluded from new economic gains, but also because their experience of Francoism was neglected.

The authors in this study share this trauma, and their literary narratives all reflect the experience of living in-between two realities once the dictatorship came to an end. In *Crónica del desamor,* Ana describes the schizophrenia of the period—'todo igual y todo distinto en cada madrugada' (Montero 2010: 159)—and raises the question: what is new and what is not in the 'new Spain'? In this chapter, I firstly explore what the authors in this

study wanted to leave behind: the Francoist *pathos,* something that the narrative of the new Spain completely ignored, in contrast with the changes that it insisted on celebrating. I will then move on to an analysis of the most intimate dimension of the Francoist *pathos*: its sentimental education. I interpret this sentimental education as a political project, in so far as politics, according to Anna Jónasdóttir, 'concerns the articulation of relational conflicts in social power structures' (2009: 41). I argue that these authors' creation of a *sentimental counter-education* is not epiphenomenal *vis-à-vis* the construction of a new democratic society, but integral to it.

Avishai Margalit asserts that '[i]t is easier to create a class with common economic interests than with a shared memory' (2004: 71). The narrative of the 'new Spain' was accompanied by 'la nueva cultura de los malls y mass media, y la modernidad de ilusiones y simulacros' (Subirats 2014: 24). But this culture was not entirely new: during the dictatorship, the *desarrollismo* had built a social culture based on middle-class values with which the working classes progressively began to identify. An increase in consumerism ran parallel to a decrease in Marxist sentiment, a trend that became more acute after May 1968. This ultimately led the working classes to welcome economic liberalisation as a solution to their political discontent, thus allowing the consolidation of capitalism during the Transition.

Speaking at the 1980 conference at the University of Vanderbilt, Rosa Montero described Spain's new democracy as 'un extraño invento, un habilidoso revoque de fachada que ha llevado a cabo el neocapitalismo español junto con los sectores más dinámicos del régimen anterior' (1981a: 42). Pointing out the continuity between those in power before and after the

Transition (*desarrollistas/aperturistas* and neoliberals), Montero argued that the consolidation of capitalism was the only real difference between the old regime and the superficial new democracy, which was otherwise simply a new dressing for the same old sociopolitical structures.

Montero refers to this same deception in a scene of *La función Delta*, a novel that takes place in two time periods: 1980 and 2010. In this scene, the older Lucía and her friend Ricardo look back on the past from their position in 2010[118] and realise that they belong to 'la generación perdida del cambio' (Montero 1981b: 167), a generation that expected to change the status quo but which missed the opportunity. In their conversation Ricardo complains that the culture of leisure is the only thing that has really advanced, and that deeper and more meaningful changes have not taken place.

The result of the Transition was, for many, 'el camouflage de un imperturbable sistema de poder político y administrativo, y de un inmutable continuismo intelectual', but it was nonetheless preferable to 'la situación que todos temían en sordo silencio: el regreso al autoritarismo brutal que había gobernado la sociedad española desde la restauración borbónica a comienzos del siglo diecinueve' (Subirats 2014: 24). A simulacrum emerged when this situation of cultural continuity, but reduced authoritarianism, was equated with true democracy. Despite the insistence of the *process/discourse* that a factual transition had occurred and had left Francoism behind, what became evident after the dictator's death was that Spain had transitioned to 'a

[118] We know the conversation takes place in 2010 because, in the novel, old Lucía is reading a scientific magazine dated 10 July 2007 and she says: 'Es decir, de hace tres años' (Montero 1981b: 209).

nationally integrated consumer-capitalist economy' (Graham and Labanyi 1995: 257-258).

Even as the transitional period promised change, and constantly pointed towards new horizons, some people chose to look to the past in order to confront old mores, conscious that these still had a deep influence on their lives. As Loureiro emphasises, '[l]a institucionalización de una democracia más o menos democrática no convierte al ciudadano automáticamente en democrático. Son esas herencias invisibles, cotidianas, a las que habría que prestar más atención' (Interviewed by Labrador Méndez and Sánchez León 2014: 93).

I will refer to this common (though invisible) inheritance as the Francoist *pathos,* borrowing the term from Joan Ramón Resina. Resina identifies the pretence of leaving the dictatorship behind as a 'supervivencia bajo borradura ideológica', also a 'perpetuación espectral pero robusta', and he warns about the dangers it entails: 'La supervivencia del *pathos* del franquismo en el seno de la democracia es mucho más preocupante que la existencia marginal de una confesa nostalgia fascista fuera de ella' (2007: 34).

Following Resina's use of the word, I also understand it in relation to its more emotional, original (Greek) meaning, and I extend it to include the most intimate interactions between individuals in society. Both the expression 'franquismo sociológico' and what Resina calls *pathos* are employed with a similar meaning. In this chapter, I favour the term *pathos* precisely because I extend it to encompass the sphere of emotions.

In the following section, I highlight some aspects of Natàlia's subjectivisation in Roig's *El temps de les cireres* and *L'hora violeta* both in order to illustrate how this Francoist *pathos* manifests itself, and in order to

demonstrate its vital importance as a basis for identity construction. 'Subjectivisation' is understood here as 'the process of becoming a subject, a fully responsible, autonomously thinking and acting adult citizen, as opposed to a manipulated and system-functioning object' (Matthies 2009: 219).

In Roig's *El temps de les cireres,* we have already seen how Natàlia's brother Lluís pretends to cut himself off from Francoism through his own 'retórica del cambio', and how he projects an image of the 'new Spain' that he imagines as part of the 'Mercado Común'. Dismissing what he sees as ideological manifestations, Lluís resorts to a 'borradura ideológica'. By contrast, let us remember, Natàlia is not blind to the Francoist *pathos*; quite the opposite, she acknowledges that: 'Soy una hija forzosa del franquismo' (Roig 1986b: 39). Her statement is in no way a sign of nostalgia or an appeal for the continuation of the regime;[119] rather, it is a way of accepting the fact that, as Labrador clearly puts it, 'aquello contra lo que te rebelas también te constituye a tu pesar; que no existen formas de subjetivización ajenas de partida a la hegemonía de un tiempo' (2017: 409).

The years of *desarrollismo* frame Natàlia's absence from Barcelona in *El temps de les cireres,* which begins with the protagonist's return to her hometown after spending a period of voluntary exile in Paris and London. The question of what is new and what is not after her twelve-year absence

[119] The acknowledgement of the conditions experienced under Franco in these novels does not involve the nostalgia alluded to in the famous slogan, wrongly attributed to Vázquez Montalbán, that the anti-Francoists were better off against Franco. We find this idea expressed by Elena's son in Tusquets's *Para no volver*, but it is quickly struck down by Elena: 'Jorge, una vez, comentó que debió ser la de ella una época curiosa y estimulante, divertido tener que comprar los libros más inocentes en las trastiendas y tener que viajar a Perpignan para leer un periódico decente y enterarse más o menos de lo que sucedía por el mundo, y para enterarse sobre todo de lo que sucedía en la propia España, y había quedado Elena perpleja y escandalizada, ante esta posibilidad imprevista de que alguien, en este caso su propio hijo, pudiera reivindicar, a través del pintoresquismo y de la nostalgia, lo que sabía ella no reivindicable' (Tusquets 1985: 55-56).

constitutes one of the main subjects of the novel. In the text, Natàlia reflects on the circumstances that made her leave in 1962—the university riots mentioned in Chapter Two as well as the need to have an abortion—and compares them with her situation in 1974, the present of the novel. The focus on social change establishes a critical dialogue with the 'retórica del cambio'.

Although Natàlia has been away for twelve years, her first impression of Barcelona is one of déjà vu—'como lo de la magdalena de Proust' (Roig 1986a: 16)—which paints a grim picture of society:

> Y es que Natàlia se había marchado el mismo año del follón de Asturias […] y de la detención de Grimau. Grimau, a quien ejecutaron al año siguiente convencido de que su muerte serviría para ser la última de las víctimas del fascismo... Y ahora mataban a Puig Antich. (Roig 1986a: 16)

The executions of Julián Grimau[120] and Salvador Puig Antich,[121] two significant events that stand out in framing Natàlia's absence, condition her

[120] Julián Grimau (1911-1963) was a Spanish politician. A member of the PC since 1936, he went into exile after the Civil War and came back in 1959 to lead one of the clandestine wings of the party operating in Francoist Spain. In 1962 he was ambushed while traveling to Madrid, taken to the DGS and tortured. His case made a particularly big impact: his activities against the dictatorship were not the reason for his arrest (although they were punishable by imprisonment); rather he was targeted for his role in the Civil War. He was court martialed under a law created in 1938 for prosecuting supporters of the Republic. This law had not been consistently applied and, moreover, a Public Order Tribunal had just been created to replace the old military legal institutions that underpinned it. Nevertheless, Franco personally ordered that any changes be postponed until after Grimau's shooting, making him the last person to be executed for crimes committed during the Civil War. Grimau's trial contradicted Spain's claim to the outside world that the legacy of the war had been left behind, and it provoked an international protest. The opposition to Grimau's execution was such that the head of the Guardia Civil in Madrid refused to form a firing squad and replacement soldiers had to be called in for the purpose.

[121] Salvador Puig Antich (1948-1974) was a Catalan anarchist, active during the sixties and early seventies. The events of May 1968 in France were instrumental in causing him to become involved in the fight against the dictatorship. He was initially part of CCOO, but he soon moved towards an anarchist position. After graduating with a degree in Economic Sciences he joined the armed branch of MIL (Movimiento Ibérico de Liberación - Iberian

feelings about her return and sharply contradict the notion that Franco's regime was a 'dictablanda' in its latter years. The narrator's words suggest that little had changed in 1974 in terms of fascist repression, and that the dictatorship was not simply a preamble to democracy.

The changes that Natàlia perceives in society are related to the growth of consumer capitalism, which would eventually become democratic (in the sense expressed by Graham and Labany, i.e. it would integrate the majority of the people). If the look, attitude and words of Natàlia's brother, Lluís, fully embody this democratic/consumer capitalism, so too do those of his wife, Silvia, who brags to Natàlia while showing her around their apartment: '¿Refinado, verdad?, preguntó Silvia. No te vayas a creer, añadió, que aquí vivimos al día. Hemos cambiado mucho. No encontrarás ninguna diferencia con Inglaterra, ya lo verás' (Roig 1986a: 60). Silvia is clearly interested in emphasising the value of the changes that have taken place in Natàlia's absence, and she constantly talks about the increase in her and Lluís's purchasing power. However, when discussing issues other than her own bourgeois private life, the same character laments that, 'aquí, ya lo ves, las cosas están como siempre' (Roig 1986a: 185).

Liberation Movement) and participated in the group's actions as a chauffeur. They robbed banks and used the money to promote the group's clandestine publications and to help strikers and workers who were in jail. In September 1973 the police carried out an offensive against MIL militants. One of Puig Antich's comrades was caught, and he confessed the locations of the group's clandestine meeting points. He was also used by the police as a lure in order to catch Salvador Puig Antich and another comrade. When Puig Antich was arrested there was a shootout in which he was badly wounded and a policeman was killed. Puig Antich was imprisoned and convicted for the policeman's death. In the meantime, ETA killed Carrero Blanco, radicalising the dictatorship's stance. As a result, even though demonstrations were held throughout Europe after Puig Antich was sentenced to death, Franco did not grant him a pardon. Puig Antich was executed by *garrote vil* (garrotte) on 2 March 1974. He was the last man executed in the Modelo Prison in Barcelona and, together with the criminal Georg Michael Welzel (Heinz Chez), the last to be put to death by *garrote vil*.

The development of capitalism is the only aspect of 1974 Barcelona that does not resemble the city Natàlia left in 1962, and the change is something which she does not see in the positive terms in which Silvia and her brother do. As Natàlia walks around the city, she thinks: 'Barcelona era un inmenso cadáver desventrado. […] No había jardines, sino Bancos' (Roig 1986a: 103). Similarly, the fact that the garden at her aunt Patricia's house—the setting of many important memories—has been sold appears as a symptom of capitalist development which saddens her deeply.[122]

Natàlia, who is constantly questioned by others about her perceptions of Barcelona, struggles to define the changes she can detect: 'Silvia le había preguntado: ¿verdad que nos encuentras muy cambiados? Y Arcadi Segura le decía que no había cambiado nada. Ella encontraba algo cambiado, pero todavía no había tenido tiempo de precisarlo. ¿Qué era?' (Roig 1986a: 102). Despite what one might expect after a twelve-year absence, changes do not jump out at her, and do not seem to be self-evident. The *sensory-memory* narration highlights a sense of continuity that, even though it refers to 1974, would no doubt have resonated in 1977 when the novel was published, and which had the potential to contest the 'retórica del cambio' in 1980, when it was translated into Spanish.

Natàlia herself is a site of possible changes: 'Habían ocurrido muchas cosas dentro, y también fuera, y, claro está, ella era otra. Ya no tenía miedo' (Roig 1986a: 102). The dictatorship's repression determined her

[122] Geraldine Nichols analyses the presence of the *Genesis* in Roig's novels and states that: 'La descripción del jardín de Patricia Miralpeix en *Tiempo de cerezas* es emblemática del tratamiento que Roig hace del espacio edénico' (2006: 549).

subjectivisation, but not entirely, and this is due to her efforts to learn everything anew:

> me he pasado doce años intentando aprender de nuevo todas las cosas, incluidas la lástima, el amor, el placer; cuando me marché, me consideraba una niña y quise quitarme de encima todos los preceptos y principios que me habían enseñado. (Roig 1986a: 187)

Natàlia dedicates twelve years abroad to this essential task, a task that, in the words of Germán Labrador, was essential to Spanish society as a whole: 'la tarea política más urgente para muchos no era aprender la libertad, sino des-aprender la dictadura' (2017: 16).

By the end of the novel, Natàlia realises that the superficiality of the changes around her is preventing her from her fully 'un-learning' the dictatorship: 'Es fantástico, pensó Natàlia, todavía no hace una semana que he vuelto y ya no recuerdo los años que he estado fuera. Parece que nada haya cambiado' (Roig 1986a: 195). Natàlia's reflections on her subjectivisation continue in Roig's following novel *L'hora violeta*, which examines the reason for this societal stasis—the persistence of the Francoist *pathos*.

In a well-known scene of *L'hora violeta*, (heterosexual) Natàlia analyses a dream in which she sees herself lying naked on a beach next to a beautiful woman:

> Me había puesto al alcance de la mano todos los resortes de la belleza, es decir, la Naturaleza en calma, con el trasfondo del mar como símbolo de liberación, y una mujer perfecta.

> Sexo y Naturaleza. O, en realidad, una misma cosa. Y yo hacía el amor con todo ello. (Roig 1986b: 114)

However, her enjoyment is interrupted when Franco suddenly emerges from the sea: 'Parecía un profeta bíblico a punto de lanzarnos el peor de los anatemas. Nos separamos despavoridas' (Roig 1986b: 114).

L'hora violeta is mostly set after Franco's death, an event which was in itself a most palpable change. In Natàlia's words, the dictator was, by this time, 'convertido en una piltrafa.' The obvious reading (which Natàlia is well aware of: 'ya sé que el sueño es demasiado claro') hinges on the idea that Franco appears as a super-ego conditioned by National-Catholic morality, censoring hedonistic pleasure and homosexual interaction. Only after he has condemned the women does the dictator return to the unconscious depths of the sea—'O al infierno,' as Natàlia says. Yet what haunts Natàlia most of all is the fact that she cannot rid herself of what lies deep, and for the most part hidden, inside her: 'Franco está dentro de mí, se me aferra como una babosa' (Roig 1986b: 114).

The dream, which is explicitly described in the manner of a TV commercial, evokes film narrative techniques, rendering the reader a spectator of the scene. Laura Mulvey's theories regarding the male gaze and desire in filmic montage are relevant here.[123] Mulvey argues that 'the cinema poses questions of the ways the unconscious (formed by the dominant order) structures ways of seeing and pleasure in looking' (1999: 834). Cinema manipulates visual pleasure in order to convert 'the erotic into the language

[123] Considering the broad impact that Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (an article originally published in *Screen* 16.3 Autumn 1975) had, and knowing that Roig was a feminist activist and intellectual, it is probable that Roig had knowledge of Mulvey's theory when writing this scene.

of the dominant patriarchal order' (Mulvey 1999: 835), that is to say, it codes women as images and men as spectators.

Natàlia's dream makes her aware of her own internalisation of patriarchal structures: the other woman she imagines is objectified, and she herself, as creator and viewer of the scene, recreates the male gaze: 'la otra no estaba allí como sujeto. No interesaba dentro de la escena, era otro elemento del conjunto que yo misma había montado' (Roig 1986b: 114). In her dream, these patriarchal structures are quite specifically linked to Francoism. While the visible Franco is easy to track: 'ya pertenece a la Historia,' the Franco who endures under the surface 'no tiene rostro. Sólo ojos' (Roig 1986b: 114). It is through the eyes of the dictator, of 'el cadáver-no-muerto de los años franquistas' (Vilarós 1998: 213), that Natàlia sees the other woman as an object, not a subject, of desire. And this is precisely what Natàlia finds horrifying: her own adoption of the male gaze makes her realise how completely she has internalised the Francoist *pathos* in the process of her subjectivisation.

The authors in this study explore Francoism and, through the lives of their characters, show how it continued after Franco's death, contrary to the claims made by hegemonic political history which asserted everything had changed. If collectively '[s]e olvidaba que el franquismo había penetrado en el tejido social mucho más allá de las instituciones' (Resina 1997: 58-59), these authors set out constantly to remind us of it, showing how the 'new Spain' depended much more on people's biographies than on official institutions.

In 1976, a graffiti in a public toilet read 'Nosotros no queremos cambiar las Cortes. Queremos transformar la vida' (Quoted in Labrador

2010: 7). The slogan sums up the sentiment that what happened inside Government institutions was one thing, but day-to-day life was another; these two spheres ran parallel and yet, especially during the post-dictatorship, they affected one another deeply.

By the late 1960s, Anti-Francoism had spread beyond clandestine organisations: any quotidian act became an act of resistance and was potentially transgressive because, as Ricard Vinyes argues, 'la dictadura [tenía] vetados tantos espacios que cualquier acción de democratización lleva[ba] necesariamente a transgredir la norma franquista' (Interviewed by Sánchez León 2014: 242). Just as public spaces were subject to strict rules under the dictatorship, so too were private ones: defying the National-Catholic morality imposed by the state was considered a political transgression. It was only logical that the sphere normally thought of as *personal* would assume vital importance in a new historical period that aimed to cut itself off from the dictatorship. 'What is on the cards in Spain is a complete restructuring of social relations, in the bedroom and in the chambers of government' (Davies 1994: 61).

The limits between the personal and the political spheres were not particularly clear: questions over the status of divorce, adultery and abortion were not tackled immediately by the budding democratic institutions because these topics were not perceived as political; meanwhile women rights' supporters argued that these issues should be a priority for democracy and insisted on their inclusion in the political agenda.[124]

[124] When Manuel Fraga was asked why he did not sign the political section originally included in the *Pactos de la Moncloa*, he responded: '¡Porque no me dio la gana! […] Era mezclar la carne con el pescado. […] ¿Qué hacen dentro de los Pactos de la Moncloa esas referencias al adulterio o al amancebamiento?' (Calleja 2007: online). As a result, the 'adulteress' stayed in prison a while longer.

In their recent edited volume *La Transición sentimental. Literatura y cultura en España desde los años setenta*, María Ángeles Naval and Zoraida Carandell wrote that there were two reasons for their choice of title: firstly, the recent 'affective turn' in scholarship on the Spanish Transition, one that goes hand in hand with the broader approach in Humanities and Social Sciences since the mid-1990s. This critical turn is marked by a willingness to address questions of affective responses and motivations and to understand that emotion and cognition are never fully separable when analysing the social, political and cultural aspects of today's world. Secondly,

> [el] hecho histórico indiscutible de que la transición democrática en España corrió pareja con importantes cambios en aspectos que pueden considerarse íntimos pero que son, indudablemente, de carácter sociológico: la liberación sexual, el feminismo, la aparición de sensibilidades *queer*, la descomposición de la familia patriarcal. (Naval and Carandell 2016: 13)

People started to do things *openly* on the fringes of censorship and by doing them, they reshaped social coexistence. These developments not only suggested that changes in the law were needed, they also created an emotional confusion that had to be addressed through culture, art, literature—exceptionally powerful media for helping people structure their emotions. As Nadal states: 'el descifrar cómo se ha constituido la sentimentalidad de nuestra época es una manera de saber quiénes somos […]. Desde luego ha sido una de las tareas de la literatura' (Naval 2016: 91).

Fiction plays a central role in shaping cultural patterns in that it provides people with collective meanings with which to make sense of their own

experiences, creating what Eva Illouz calls 'fictional emotional imagination'. The importance of this imagination lies in the fact that '[i]ndividuals do not merely interpret cultural texts but organize their experience around them' (Illouz 1997: 101-102).

In fiction about social relationships in post-dictatorship Spain, one of the themes that comes through most clearly in novels written by women is a *desencanto* with romantic love. Many critics of the period dismissed these storylines as women 'grumbling' about men's attitudes and behaviour in intimate relationships. But the reasons why these authors' needed to express such dissatisfaction, and the implications of what they wrote, are key to understanding how the cultural logic of heteronormativity evolved and how male-female power dynamics changed in the period, thus reshaping society.

I investigate the causes and implications of women's dissatisfaction for two reasons. Firstly, I intend to throw light on the situation of women during the Transition through exploring their intimate concerns. I believe that the authors in this study were writing to make themselves and other women understood, following a model evoked by Roig in *L'hora violeta*, where she writes of the character Norma: 'muchas de las cosas que escribía no significaban otra cosa que su obsesión por hacerse entender, con el fin de que se comprendiera lo que les sucedía a las dos, a Natàlia y a Norma' (1986b: 229). I agree with Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst when, in her analysis of Roig's novels but talking more generally about other female authors like Montero or Tusquets, she states that they create: 'nuevas narraciones históricas y artísticas escritas en femenino, narraciones sobre mujeres creadas por mujeres que ayudarán a las generaciones futuras a forjar la memoria y el imaginario social femeninos' (2017: 279). I want to go further in my own

analysis, however, exploring how this female social imagery has an impact not only on women but on society as a whole.

Secondly, I aim to create a clearer understanding of transitional society through exploring the dynamics of the intimate sphere. And the fact that the authors under consideration are women is once again relevant here because, as Anthony Giddens affirms in his study on *The Transformation of Intimacy*:

> Intimacy is above all a matter of emotional communication, with others and with the self, in a context of interpersonal equality. Women have prepared the way for an expansion of the domain of intimacy in their role as the emotional revolutionaries of modernity. (2008: 130)

Some of the most inspiring research into the intimate sphere to date is that undertaken by Carmen Martín Gaite who examines the *usos amorosos* of the 18th century and of the post-Civil war period in Spain. Martín Gaite affirms that what first moved her to begin her study was:

> el hecho de que la mayoría de las mujeres, tanto las de carne y hueso como las de ficción (modeladoras muchas veces de las de carne y hueso), necesiten con una tan peculiar vehemencia ajustar su comportamiento a patrones refrendados por la opinión vigente. (2017: 14)

Martín Gaite seeks to understand the cultural patterns imposed on women (and in turn followed by them) in order to illuminate the specific significance of women in society at those times. In this study, instead of approaching women as recipients of cultural norms, I turn to them as potential

creators of them. That is to say I look at female authors as potential shapers of the fictional emotional imagination of their readers.

1. Understanding the vital importance of sentimental education

Giddens states in his work that although he intended only to talk about sex, he ended up also talking about love and gender. My own reflections on love will necessarily intermingle with observations about gender and sex/sexuality.[125] In order to explore both the continuing presence of Francoist *pathos* and the changes that are vital for a transition to democracy in the intimate sphere, I intend to examine how these authors relocate questions of love and sex in new frameworks of knowledge. As Esther Tusquets writes: 'estoy convencida de que el sexo es un camino de conocimiento, y de que el amor, tenga o no mucho de engañoso, nos lleva a descubrir verdades esenciales' (2006: 18).

I find the concept of *sentimental education* a particularly effective notion for exploring this area. Intersected by love, sex/sexuality and gender, it is part of social *pathos*, and forms a socio-cultural phenomenon that goes beyond individual experience. Sentimental education precedes *usos amorosos* insofar as it is discursive and constructs cognitive rather than behavioural patterns. Moreover, sentimental education is always intertwined with economic and political hegemony, and this was certainly the case in Francoist Spain. Considering it played an essential role in consolidating the

[125] Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst and Rodrigo Pardo, in an article dedicated to examining the reconfiguration of the amorous discourse in Rosa Montero's *La función delta* and *Te trataré como una reina,* also highlight the importance of the sociocritical study of literary representations of love, sexuality and gender. See Moszczyńska-Dürst and Pardo (2013).

dictatorship, Francoist sentimental education was therefore a prime target for change after 1975.[126]

Approaching the concept of *love* from a scholarly perspective raises several issues. Firstly, the word is widely used in natural language to refer to a varied range of attitudes, emotions, feelings, and behaviours not only towards people, but also towards other beings, objects, places, and even symbols. I negotiate this polysemy by using love in the specific sense of *amour passion*, an expression that connects love and sexual attachment.

Even after narrowing the concept to focus on a specific kind of love, it is still difficult to comprehend the term because it has a confusing double nature. On one hand, love is enduring and universal:

> When some societies have viewed it as disruptive, have sought to discourage or attempted to banish it, romantic love has persisted and even fueled by the efforts of others to suppress it. […] No cultures have been shown to lack the experience of love. (Buss 2006: 68)

On the other hand, the experience of love depends on a process of socialisation that comprises 'una determinada educación sentimental, un lenguaje para expresar el amor, unas representaciones y símbolos culturales,

[126] The adjective 'sentimental' was quite common during the Spanish Transition, and we can easily find it in books titles like Vázquez Montalbán's *Crónica sentimental de la transición* (1985) or Montserrat Roig's *Breu història sentimental i altres contes* (1995), *De com s'inicia l'educació sentimental de Mundeta Claret i altres contes* (1998), and even her *Molta roba i poc sabó... i tan neta que la volen* (1970), which was translated into Spanish in 1981 as *Aprendizaje sentimental*. Only recently, and possibly as a result of the abovementioned affective turn, can we find this term once again on book covers (see e.g. the cited compilation of essays edited by María Ángeles Naval and Zoraida Carandell *La Transición sentimental: Literatura y cultura en España desde los años setenta*, or the study by Marta Sanz *Éramos mujeres jóvenes: Una educación sentimental de la transición española,* both published in 2016).

en definitiva, un modelo de lo que significa ser pareja' (Sampedro 2009: 123), making it historically and culturally particular.

In his study, Anthony Giddens differentiates between *passionate* love as 'a more or less universal phenomenon' and *romantic* love as being 'much more culturally specific' (2008: 38). Without going further into anthropological discussions of universality, I shall follow his distinction.

Love's universal/particular nature is also explained by the fact that one's perception of it, like one's perception of other natural language concepts, is organised around the clearest cases, or best available examples of it—what Beverley Fehr calls 'prototypes'. In her research interviewing people about the concept of love, Fehr describes how 'individual differences emerge only when participants are specifically asked to rate features or types of love in terms of *their own view* of love' (Italics in the original. 2006: 227). The fact that the interviewees coincided in a prototypical standardised notion of love unless they were specifically asked to talk about it from their own personal point of view is explained by the existence of a common language of love and shared models for love relationships.

In addition to its polysemy and its simultaneously specific and universal nature, 'love' has had relatively little currency in academia until recently, with the exception of feminism. Moszczyńska-Dürst and Pardo mention a lack of studies that deal with 'la apasionante, pero ardua tarea de analizar prácticas culturales amorosas', only overcome in the 90s (2013: 372), coinciding with the abovementioned affective turn. Also, Anna Jónasdóttir and Ann Ferguson state that it is only since the 1990s that 'a growing interest in the subject of love can be seen in many disciplines and fields of academic scholarship' (2014: 2).

Even though it is a culturally constructed feeling that creates and is created by a number of complex social discourses and practices, it has generally been treated as an individual (personal and non-transferable) feeling. I believe that thinking about love leads to self-knowledge and individual empowerment, but limiting one's approach to the sphere of psychology, and ignoring love's collectively conditioned aspects, impede a full comprehension of the subject. As Eva Illouz has shown in her sociological works:

> [t]hat individuals vary in their interpretations of the same experiences, or that we live social experiences mostly through psychological categories, does not entail that these experiences are private and singular. […] to be intelligible to oneself and to others, an experience must follow established cultural patterns. (2012: 14)

Amongst social experiences and emotions, love has an extraordinary cultural prominence. When commenting on an experiment related to the screening of romantic films to adolescents in the first decades of the twentieth century, Illouz highlights how watching these movies not only 'intensified daydreaming but also provided cognitive maps of romantic behaviors (e.g. kissing) that helped adolescents orient themselves' (1997: 45).

Broadly, since the 1970s onwards three different perspectives and approaches to love can be distinguished among feminists: romantic love seen as an ideological force, as a key element in epistemology and moral philosophy, or as social and biomaterial human power–see the introduction of Jónasdóttir and Ferguson (2014). I shall combine these three perspectives as I map the social parameters of love within the Transition as depicted in our

authors' novels. I understand that love transcends the individual experience and becomes a social practice, agreeing with José Luis Anta when he defines it as 'un verdadero anhelo social, un conformador de verdad y, consecuentemente, uno de los pilares políticos por excelencia' (Anta 2009: 102).

I will now draw on some ideas that Lourdes Ortiz develops in her essay *El sueño de la pasión* (published in 1997) in order to focus on a number of specific aspects of romantic love and to contextualise the *sentimental counter-education* that I argue the authors in this study create.

El sueño de la pasión is a treatise in which Ortiz explores passionate love through the analysis of literary masterpieces and explains how its interpretation in Western culture has created romantic love and with it, successive conceptual frameworks 'que modelan nuestra conducta y nuestro imaginario' (1997: 74). Ortiz's interpretation of these masterpieces is based on extensive knowledge and is well-supported with evidence, but this does not prevent her from giving her personal opinion on certain issues. I am especially interested in the passages that Ortiz treats more subjectively, because her subjectivity reveals three key problems that coincide with three central concerns in the novels analysed here.

The first issue is the question of women's submission versus women's emancipation: Ortiz despises submissive women who are subjugated by men. In the case of Abelardo and Eloísa, this is absolutely clear: 'No me caen bien Abelardo y Eloísa' (Ortiz 1997: 58), says Ortiz, explaining that:

> lo más terrible, lo más nauseabundo es cómo ella—si son cartas, las de Eloísa, escrita por mujer, cosa que también pongo en duda—asume todos los despropósitos que él

> babea y se hace responsable de la culpa de ambos, y de la desdicha de él. (1997: 61)

Secondly, Ortiz defends a kind of passionate love whose power liberates women. She praises Fernando de Rojas's *La Celestina* (1499) and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) as literary examples that break the exclusivity of the male imperative, portraying female characters who, in spite of still being subject to the arbitrariness of society's rules, rebel against the system and assume responsibility over their own fatal destinies in love. This is how Ortiz understands Anna Karenina's suicide, as we shall see below.

Finally, Ortiz describes gender division as the tragedy of modernity. The case of Emma Bovary is pivotal:

> madame Bovary, en realidad, somos también todas nosotras, las mujeres de un hoy tardío, siglo y medio después de que ella en las páginas del libro se lanzara a vivir su aventura con la frialdad y la decisión de un varón pero, sobre todo, con la entrega de mujer: entrega total, absoluta. (Ortiz 1997: 194)

Sexual desire is coded as male, and therefore female desire is seen as especially dangerous because it subverts the 'normal' cultural order, challenging the foundations of modern conservative society and bourgeois values, which are built on hierarchical gender divisions.

According to Ortiz, the tragedy of modernity is '[l]a gran escisión entre el mundo de lo femenino y de lo masculino' (1997: 252), a division which is heightened by different ways of conceiving of and experiencing love. This division has a turning point in the second half of the nineteenth century, and

it manifests itself in works from Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857) to Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1877) as well as in the evolution of the myth of *Carmen*. Ortiz's reasoning runs as follows.

Traditionally, the model of amorous passion stood as a metaphor for male desire: conquering a woman's love was the man's objective, and tension was created by the obstacles he encountered. At the same time, it was the prevalent belief that women had weak control over their passions (and their sexual desire) due to their lack of rationality. The sentimental education constructed in the eighteenth century and consolidated in the nineteenth century suggested quite the opposite: that women could naturally resist sexual temptation—as Nancy Scott explains: 'By elevating sexual control highest among human virtues, the middle-class moralists made female chastity the archetype for human morality' (Quoted in Illouz 2012: 62). Flaubert's description of Emma Bovary's words and actions incorporates independent female desire into his narrative and it is in this context that Ortiz affirms: '[c]uando la Bovary suelta su cabellera […] todo el marco pequeño-burgués se desmorona' (1997: 213).

It was after the eighteenth century, when questions of social class and religious factors no longer presented obstacles to amorous relationships and these were conceived amongst equals, that romantic love becomes 'tema femenino, cosa de mujeres, histéricas, irracionales; mientras los hombres se dedican al negocio, a la política o a una religión de palabras huecas y discursos altisonantes' (Ortiz 1997: 193). Along these lines, Ortiz argues, Tolstoy explicitly opposes two conceptions of love and desire through his respective male and female protagonists in *Anna Karenina*.

Vronsky and Anna have struggled through the novel to have their affair, and it is only when Anna separates from her husband and son that they finally manage to live together. Once desire is satisfied, nostalgia for friends, for work, and for politics, arises in Vronsky. Tolstoy avers that marriage, a stable relationship, is the ideal state for a man because it allows him to successfully engage in other public activities. Anna, however, lives for romantic love. '*Lo que hace moderna y terrible a la Karenina es que elige su muerte precisamente porque no quiere que la pasión termine*' (Italics in the original. Ortiz 1997: 246).

Romantic heroines who lack submissiveness and show independence threaten the petit bourgeois order, blurring the line between spheres of action divided by gender.[127] 'En esa atmósfera de fin de siglo, la mujer se ha hecho voraz, peligrosa, terrible para el hombre' (Ortiz 1997: 259), and this meant that order had to be restored and male and female gender identities appropriately split.

The myth of *Carmen*, which evolved from Mérimée's novel (the first three—of four—parts were serialised in periodicals in 1845, and the full book published in 1846) to the most successful of Bizet's operas (premiered in 1875), illustrates a rationalisation of love that associates 'good' women with

[127] In nineteenth-century Spain, female writers were also seen as a threat when they began to compete in the 'literary field'—understood in Bourdieu's sense—and that is why they were limited to expressing a subjectivity that was linked to the domestic sphere. See Kirkpatrick 1991, especially pp. 69-100.
A similar phenomenon in Great Britain is explored by Nancy Armstrong: she examines how women gained the authority to write literature and have it received as both female and literary precisely in a moment in which British society, 'in making the shift to a growth economy, seemed to want women confined to the home, their labor devalued, and their political rights perpetually denied to them' (1982: 128). Armstrong explains: 'the reasoning goes that women have only to gain authority when their power is distinct from and complementary to that of the male' (1982: 131).
The analysis of a society's sentimental education has generally been associated with women and interestedly labelled as 'women's business' because, as Mary Beard explains: 'Women […] may in extreme circumstances publicly defend their own sectional interests, but not speak for men or the community as a whole' (2017: 16).

a private sphere of sentiment and emotion, while condemning and punishing instances of female excessiveness, manifested in female passion.

In Ortiz's view, the traits that were already implicit in Mérimée's protagonist are enhanced in Bizet's: 'la nueva *Carmen*, la única en realidad, la nuestra, es violenta, terrible, transfigurada por la música, exótica también, libre e indomable' (1997: 257). Mérimée's Carmen was pictured as a dangerous threat to men, but it is in Bizet's opera that such danger becomes a *leit motiv*. Furthermore, Bizet's version of the story offers a contrast between Carmen and Don José's faithful friend 'la tierna y modosa Micaela, que le devuelve una y otra vez el recuerdo del hogar ordenado y de la madre' (Ortiz 1997: 259).

Love was supposed to nurture and elevate women and women were expected to incarnate an ideal of sexual and spiritual purity. Carmen, by contrast, '[e]s la mujer devoradora. Es el amor encarnado, un pájaro que siempre se escapa, porque si lo atrapas, muere. El amor, como la misma Carmen, no conoce ley' (Ortiz 1997: 257). Carmen owns her body and has her own voice, and she chooses whether to stay with or to abandon a man. For Ortiz, she is a true romantic heroine who embraces love as a liberating power, but who is punished and murdered in order to restore the bourgeois/patriarchal order.

During the nineteenth century, a new male perspective on women (and love) prevailed, one that created female characters who were, as Ortiz puts it, 'digeribles': 'Ángeles de bondad que provocan la ternura y la exaltación del hombre, deseo demorado, conquista y sublimación. Muchachas débiles y enfermizas que necesitan ser protegidas y que pueden ser abandonadas'

(1997: 261). Female desire was obliterated and women were once again restricted to the private sphere.

As Anthony Giddens explains:

> The ethos of romantic love has had a double impact upon women's situation. On the one hand it has helped to put women 'in their place'—the home. On the other hand, however, romantic love can be seen as an active, and radical, engagement with the 'maleness' of modern society. (2008: 2)

The tension between these two opposite notions of love (inextricable from the configuration of gender and sexuality) and their two opposite consequences for women (one confining, the other liberating) has political implications that are key to an understanding of the novels in this study.

Anthropologists remind us that passionate love is a cultural universal:

> At one time, scholars assumed that passionate love was 'invented' by the troubadours in twelfth-century France. In fact, passionate love is as old as humankind. The Sumerian love fable of Inanna and Dumuzi, for example, was spun by tribal storytellers in 2000 B.C. (Lieberman and Hatfield 2006: 276)

Neither the Sumerian poets nor the troubadours 'invented' passionate love but they gave words to it. Throughout history, literature has made passion visible as a feeling, as power, and as a factual interaction. Love has generated myths for thousands of years now, and our knowledge of it only exists through those myths: 'de no ser por esas manifestaciones poéticas,

dramáticas o noveladas,' Lourdes Ortiz writes, 'poco o nada sabríamos de la pasión' (1997: 15).

As Françoise Héritier asserts in a book dedicated to deconstructing the gender hierarchy: 'las representaciones tienen larga vida, y funcionan en nuestras mentes sin que necesitemos convocarlas ni reflexionar sobre ellas' (2007: 15). Here, I have expanded on Ortiz's analysis of the evolution of the literary conventions representing female desire and gender division, not just because it is a topic the author herself considers important enough to dedicate a book to, but because literary representations are tightly linked to morality in terms of gender ideology, i.e. the way gender roles are represented in culture in general and literature in particular, has a significant impact on what kinds of behaviour we see as 'good' and 'bad' for men and women. In his essay 'A note on love' in *The Hidden Society* (1965), Vilhelm Aubert explored the relationship between the culture of love and the social institutions of love, arguing that: 'Much of what appears incomprehensible or irrational about modern family institutions can possibly be made more understandable if we assume that the literary and the private conception of love depict a real force in the world' (Quoted in Bjørnholt 2014: 142).

While the vicissitudes of love have not changed that much throughout history, social attitudes towards it have been culturally shaped by an evolving sentimental education that has been infused with the values of each new period, and that has been intricately bound up with legal regulations.

I argue here that there is an intertwined relationship between fictional emotional imagination, sentimental education, *usos amorosos* and civil laws (laws that regulate private relations between members of a community rather than public affairs). Fiction helps people to conceptualise intimate relations

by creating images that affect their behaviour both in the private and the public sphere. Such conceptualisations and behaviours come to be reflected in civil laws. Thus, civil laws condition people's conduct, but people's conduct also legitimises civil laws. Without narratives that articulate and support a particular shared understanding of private affairs, it would be impossible to sustain a piece of civil regulation. This also means that without narratives that motivate people to imagine alternative realities for their future, there would be no factual social change.

After the first decades of the twentieth century and the brief revolutionary experience of the Second Republic had passed, the Francoist dictatorship restored the Civil Code of 1889—analogous to the Napoleonic code,[128] whose influence is pointed out by Montserrat Roig in her *Mujeres en busca de un nuevo humanismo* (1981: 31)—at the same time as imposing National-Catholic moral values on society. By the middle of the twentieth century, Spanish society was heavily influenced by a nineteenth-century ideology of gender that exacerbated legal divisions between men and women, and promoted a restrictive conception of love that confined women to the private sphere. As time passed, society underwent numerous changes, but the Civil Code was barely modified. Thus, by the time Franco died, there were significant disjunctures between people's sentimental education, their behaviour (*usos amorosos*) and society's civil laws.[129]

[128] The Napoleonic Code entered into force in 1804 and it provided a set of laws concerning individual rights, property, colonial affairs and the family. This set of laws was unified and coherently written which was a major step in replacing the previous patchwork of feudal laws. The Napoleonic Wars gave it a pan-European scope, strongly influencing many other countries. With regard to family, the Code established the supremacy of the man over the wife and children, deprived women of any individual rights and abolished divorce by mutual consent.

[129] These disjunctures also varied according to geographical differences, e.g. they were greater in urban compared to rural, and in richer compared to poorer areas.

Love, gender, sex and sexuality constitute personal issues with a political dimension that concern us all. However, a contextualisation of the period will reveal that these issues were especially relevant in the post-dictatorship and indispensable to a transition to democracy if we understand democracy as the practice of social equality. The impact of personal relationships on the political sphere and vice versa is still today a big struggle for feminists. As Lena Gunnarsson argues: 'ideological and judicial norms of gender equality co-exist quite harmoniously with a persisting reality of gender inequality (...) Heterosexual coupledom is perhaps the site where this contradiction is most marked' (2014: 97). In this study, I argue that sentimental education is a key aspect of this perpetuated inequality.

After the million deaths that the Civil War left behind, in addition to the post-war executions, reprisals and cases of forced exile, Spain's population was dramatically reduced. Gender politics and the understanding of the family as a duty played a central role in providing a solution to this problem, and became vital to the National-Catholic regime's project of stabilisation:

> Franco regime targeted women because of the pivotal role they played within the family. The patriarchal family was seen as representing the corporate order of the state in microcosm. So, by reconstructing or reinforcing it, Francoism would, in theory, be able to operate on an atomized post-war society to build up the 'new order'. (Graham 1995: 184)

The discourse of Catholic morality worked as a tool in the hands of the State: a complicated ideology close to mysticism was created in order to produce childbearing women and controllable family units. Love and the

ritual of wooing played a powerful role in the creation of this mysticism. In her study *Usos amorosos de la posguerra española*, Martín Gaite described love in the post-war context as a constant battle: 'El amor se concebía como una batalla, cuya ofensiva correspondía al bando de las tropas masculinas. La táctica del bando agredido era la de desconcertar a quien emprendía aquellos avances mediante el simulacro de un rechazo encaminado oblicuamente a intensificarlos' (1987: 167). This narrative of love glorified difficulty and, as we can see, assigned men and women antagonising roles, establishing a gender division that had tragic consequences.

Masculinity and femininity were rigorously constructed as opposed to one another and narrated in drastically exclusive terms. The Virgin, as a symbol of chastity and motherhood, was made the ideal for women, who became responsible for moral order in society:

> había también implícito el reconocimiento de una cierta dejación de responsabilidades en manos de la futura mujer […] la tarea de encauzar por el camino del bien al posible novio descarriado, de cargar con sus extravíos sin dejar de amarle y sin dejarse arrastrar por ellos. (Martín Gaite 1987: 111)

Maintaining their own femininity and their family's morality became women's vital and only tasks, making them completely dependent on men for everything else.

This laborious, warped and repressed relationship between men and women caused a complete ignorance of the other sex: 'esa misma mística que elevaba a la mujer también al hombre lo incapacitaba para verla y entenderla de verdad. Cualquier análisis de sus verdaderas necesidades afectivas—y ya

no digamos sexuales—estaba desterrado' (Martín Gaite 1987: 63). It was the insincerity and lack of understanding resulting from this constant miscommunication, and the performance of fixed roles that, even more than sexual repression, caused unhappiness in most marriages.

The social performances (the ritual of wooing, the coexistence of roles in everyday life, sex or the lack of it) and their fictional portrayals (the ideal models of behaviour in 'novelas rosa'—romantic novels—and in women magazines, the advice for the lovelorn in the 'consultorios sentimentales', and others) fed each other and conditioned people's sentimental education.

Emotions are a central source of knowledge, and both reality and fiction condition our way of understanding and dealing with them.[130] Literature allows the reader to experience and understand situations not yet lived and is a very sophisticated way of reproducing and interpreting the emotional aspects of life: 'El mejor medio de la investigación, el más accesible y fecundo, es la literatura, por su carácter expreso que mitiga la condición secreta de la intimidad, del mundo sentimental, y sobre todo del amor' (Marías 1992: 26).

The generation of women writers that took over the challenges of fiction during the Transition wrote 'con un claro sentido de diálogo polémico con la propuesta anterior' (Nichols 1992: 28). During the fifties and sixties, some writers like Carmen Laforet, Ana Mª Matute, Dolores Medio and Carmen Martín Gaite started to depict feminine and masculine characters who

[130] Philosophers have identified four ways of knowing: Sense/Perception, Language, Emotion/Intuition and Logics/Reason. The importance of emotions as a central source of knowledge is key to understanding the work of most literary masterpieces. In a letter to Mademoiselle Leroyer de Chantepie (6 October 1864), Gustave Flaubert wrote, talking precisely about his *L'Éducation sentimentale* published five years later: 'I want to write the moral history of the men of my generation—or, more accurately, the history of their *feelings*. It's a book about love' (Italics in the original. Steegmuller 1982: 80).

challenged the gender roles imposed by National Catholicism, undermining the imposed notions of femininity and love (and thus also of gender and sex). However, it was the task of those who wrote and published after the dictator's death to challenge these notions openly and build alternatives that could address these obvious disjunctures between traditional ideas and actual practices in Spanish society—see Nieva de la Paz (2009).

In the 70s, both second-wave American feminism and French-language feminist theory gathered strength in Spain. Controversial works such as Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970) and Shere Hite's *The Hite Report on Female Sexuality* (1976) were translated in 1976 and 1977 respectively; Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970) was published in Spanish in Mexico in 1975; Julia Kristeva was first translated in 1974, and Luce Irigaray's doctoral thesis came out in 1978 as *Speculum. Espéculo de la otra mujer*. The influence of theories such as Firestone's conception of women's love as the source of men's social power, or Irigaray's paradigm of sexual difference, is detectable in the novels in this study. Thus, when the authors explore their own sentimental education rooted in the dictatorship, they are able to adopt a critical stance, denouncing 'lo que no es neutral ni natural sino constituido por discursos en última instancia fundados en la política, la ideología, el poder' (Ordóñez 1995: 177).

In the post-dictatorial context, the authors in this study felt the need to restore what Esther Tusquets calls 'las sutiles leyes de la simetría', the title of a short story she published in a collection edited by Ymelda Navajo in 1982,[131] included later on in Tusquets's collection of stories *La niña lunática y otros*

[131] This collection, titled *Doce relatos de mujeres* (1982), also includes short stories by Roig, Ortiz and Montero.

cuentos (1996). This short story–almost unanimously proclaimed by the critics Tusquets's most explicitly feminist (and optimistic) piece of narrative–merits discussion in that it offers an emotional response to the vicissitudes and inequalities of love and it explores the three aspects I have highlighted above: the need for women's emancipation, the advocacy of love as a liberating (rather than a confining) force, and the tragic consequences of gender division.

Tusquets's short story depicts a relationship between two characters, Sara and Carlos, told by a third-person narrator who is closely aligned with Sara's perspective. When the couple first meet and start dating, Sara feels a powerful passion, described as:

> ese peligroso arrebato de locura, ese espejismo fascinante y letal, esa enfermedad dañina para la que no queremos sin embargo encontrar remedio, esa pasión que rompe incontrolada las barreras y puede con todo y lo atropella todo y lo arrasa todo, que pone el universo entero patas arriba, que nos impulsa a reaccionar y actuar y pensar y sentir como si fuéramos extraños a nosotros mismos—lo que en uno queda de sano y de sensato anonadado e impotente ante la magnitud del estropicio—, esa fiebre maligna que se llama amor y que nos hace a un tiempo tan injustos, tan malvados, tan inocentes, tan egoístas, tan desprendidos y magnánimos, tan terribles. (Tusquets 1982: 206)

Far from the notion of love promoted by National-Catholicism—in which women were conceived of as kin-keepers, who repressed their own

basic instincts and became morally elevated—Tusquets's description represents love as a liberating, empowering force.

By contrast, Carlos sees love as a female, adolescent feeling that interferes with his autonomy and ultimately impedes his freedom.[132] Carlos is the one who establishes the terms of the relationship: '[h]abía sido Carlos quien había decidido de una vez por todas y en nombre de los dos cuanto entre ellos aconteciera' (Tusquets 1982: 208). Carlos exerts his power, a 'sexual male power' that, according to Illouz, 'consists in the capacity to define the objects of love and to set up the rules that govern courtship and the expression of romantic sentiments' (2012: 5).

Not only does Carlos set up the rules that deviate from Sara's framework of romantic love, defining their relationship as an affectionate friendship without sexual exclusivity, he also declares: 'Que Sara estuviera viviendo el gran amor romántico, porque no tenía otro esquema ni otro modelo de amor, que tuviera la boca llena de grandes palabras, era un asunto que sólo a ella le incumbía y que ella debía resolver' (Tusquets 1982: 208). Carlos does not bother to understand Sara's feelings, but instead pities her as a victim of her sentimental education, and he tries simply to dismiss romantic love, something he perceives as a 'grandiose' construction that is alien to him.

Sara's readiness to be with Carlos makes her accept the open relationship that he proposes, even though her notion of amorous relationships prevents her from benefiting from the 'freedom' to have sex

[132] The conflict between commitment/love and autonomy/freedom perfectly resonates with current neoliberal views on romantic love, especially from the male perspective. Eva Illouz discusses it brilliantly and at length in both *Consuming the Romantic Utopia. Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* and *Why love hurts. A sociological explanation,* referred in my bibliography.

with other people—until she has one affair which, singled out from the rest, triggers the plot of the story:

> las otras historias anteriores habían sido vividas siempre en función de Carlos, por causa de Carlos y para lograr algo de Carlos, […] mientras que ahora se trataba de una historia autónoma, una historia a dos y no ya a tres, una historia que afectaba indirectamente a Carlos pero que no pasaba ya por él. (Tusquets 1982: 208)

When Sara takes control over her desire as an element independent of Carlos, she is able to create a power balance between them, introducing a significant change: the end of Sara's full commitment to Carlos. 'Carlos había dejado de ser el mundo todo […] para pasar a ser tan sólo un hombre más que se debatía en la corriente' (Tusquets 1982: 215).

A cultural pattern in which passionate love is coded as male then comes into play: the possibility of 'losing her (love)' brings Carlos face to face with the need to recuperate Sara's favour. An inversion of positions thus takes place, in which Carlos is willing to commit and Sara is the one who defines the terms of the relationship:

> 'pero a ti te hubiera gustado que viviéramos juntos, que tuviéramos un hijo', y Sara perezosa y olvidadiza ('¿de verdad quise esto?, debió de ser hace muchísimo tiempo', y él, molesto, al borde de enfadarse, '¿quieres decir que no lo deseas ya?', y ella, tratando de ser suave, pero concluyente, 'no, no quiero vivir contigo, no, no quiero tener un hijo'). (Tusquets 1982: 212)

While discussing these issues with Carlos, Sara becomes aware of the lack of balance that had existed from the very beginning of their relationship, an asymmetry caused by the division of gender roles established by an inherited sentimental education. She observes romantic love from a new perspective, one which acknowledges the power (a form of dominance) exerted by Carlos, and, more importantly, comprehends her own mistake (her submission):

> había elegido un papel durísimo y agotador—muy difícil comportarse durante dos años enteros, sin desfallecer, en enamorada romántica, abnegada sin límites, sin límites comprensiva, sin posible parangón lírica—y lo había asumido y ahora se había cansado y no veía modo de cambiar de rol, o de invertir los roles, sin deshacer la historia. (Tusquets 1982: 213)

After realising that her role in the relationship was not only fraught with tension, but was actually damaging to her, Sara moves on from Carlos's 'emotional domination' and starts defining her own reality and asking what is in it for her. 'Emotional domination' is a term coined by Illouz based on Bourdieu's 'symbolic domination' and refers to the power 'exerted when one side has a greater capacity to control the emotional interaction through greater detachment, and greater capacity to exert choice and to constrain the choice of the other' (Illouz 2012: 104). Sara's new feeling of detachment brings an ironic perspective to her understanding of love: 'nadie (y acaso Carlos menos que nadie) moría ya de amor' (Tusquets 1982: 215).

The story culminates in a scene that restores the *subtle laws of symmetry*. Like Domenika Jarzombkowska affirms: 'en la estructura

disimétrica de la realidad se abre un abismo y, con éste, la posibilidad de introducir en su relación con el Otro las sutiles leyes de la simetría' (2016: 152-3).

Having lost the sense of detachment that gave him the capacity to control the relationship, and no longer able to exert emotional dominance over Sara, Carlos gets desperately drunk. His emotions take over, causing him to revert to the most primitive model of masculinity offered by Spanish culture—one sadly all too familiar not only for women in the early 80s, but also today—: 'perdió absolutamente el control […] y empezó a agredirla a gritos, a insultarla a gritos, […] repitiendo hasta la saciedad que Sara era una mala puta, porque había sólo dos clases de mujeres, las buenas y las putas' (Tusquets 1982: 215). Carlos becomes a victim of passionate love that is shaped by the toxic cultural notion of masculinity assigned to him in a hetero-patriarchal society.

When Carlos, out of jealousy, asks Sara to marry him while also verbally abusing her, Sara reacts by shouting back: "'nunca, nunca me casaré contigo, te enteras, nunca me casaré contigo', […] "antes me casaría con Diego"' (Tusquets 1982: 216). Sara re-establishes symmetry in her relationship with Carlos by taking revenge. Her words mean: 'un gesto simbólico que venía a marcar el final de la historia, […] el último trazo que venía a restablecer el equilibrio roto y a proclamar el triunfo final de la simetría' (Tusquets 1982: 216). Not accepting Carlos's late plea for romantic love, she creates definitive closure from the relationship, resulting in her emancipation.

Tusquets's short story deconstructs intimate relationships through exploring the negative extremes reached both by male and female characters

in their understanding of love and their performance of their respective gender roles. It also goes beyond depicting women's adaptation to pre-existing cultural patterns (as described by Martín Gaite) and instead shows a woman confronting and rejecting these models. Although, as we have seen, this sentimental education based on gender opposition is not exclusive to Francoism, the regime reinforced it to the point of making it, together with the national unity of Spain, the pillar of a smooth-running dictatorship.

Whereas Martín Gaite was interested in women's adaptation to the cultural patterns they are given, I turn to women's confrontation with them.[133] It is my aim to investigate the problem posed (consciously or not) by my authors in order to determine the result of this confrontation. Returning to the topic of women's 'grumbling', I argue that the one problem tackled by the authors is what Ortiz describes as the tragedy of modernity, which separates male and female spheres, creating the imbalance referred to in 'Las sutiles leyes de la simetría,' and which underpinned Franco's dictatorship.

The last sections of this thesis are dedicated to the analysis of this *sentimental counter-education* which created a fictional emotional imagination for the transitional period in three of the most popular and paradigmatic novels of the Spanish Transition: Montero's *Crónica del desamor* (1979), Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* (1978) and Roig's *L'hora violeta* (1980).

Each of these three novels has a distinctive style: *Crónica* has a single narrator who compiles multiple stories from different perspectives in a

[133] There are several studies that tackle the active role of female authors of the Transition in 'deconstruir los discursos tradicionales machistas tanto culturales como literarios' (Bárcenas 2007: 10), for instance Carmen Bárcenas's PhD dissertation in which she analyses Rosa Montero's novels.

rather journalistic tone; *El mismo mar* has a protagonist/narrator whose single and singular perspective is expressed in baroque prose; *L'hora* combines not only several narrators, perspectives and styles, but also various genres. Narratology could be explored much further in a more detailed analysis; however, I will continue my sociopolitical reading aiming to explain women and the transitional society through the intimate sphere as illustrated in the novels.

In this reading, the three aspects highlighted previously (women's emancipation, love as a liberating force, and the tragic division of the genders) will emerge through the characters' relationships and reflections, and I will underline the connections between the characters' personal experiences and the sociopolitical structures in which they exist. I will also examine the connection between female characters' subjectivisation and their *sentimental counter-education* on three temporal levels: firstly, in terms of its relationship to the past, investigating how the Francoist sentimental education affected the characters' lives and subjectivities; secondly, focusing on its effect in the present, asking how the transitional project changes this past education; and thirdly, exploring its projection of the future, asking how *sentimental counter-education* encourages women to think and perform differently.

If in her analysis of Rosa Montero's work, Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst sets out the question: '¿Cómo se configuran las nuevas relaciones sociales en al ámbito afectivo a partir de la instauración del orden democrático?' (2017: 30), my objective is, in a sense, to pose the opposite question: How is the democratic order configured within new social relations in the affective sphere?

2. The connection between love and politics through disappointment in Montero's *Crónica del desamor*

Relationships in *Crónica del desamor* are a mode of organising and understanding the characters' subjectivisation and their expectations for the future. Romantic love impacts every character: we not only gain an insight into the protagonist's thoughts and experiences, but also into those of her broken-hearted friends. In the case of female characters, romantic love—above other types of love (e.g. love experienced as mothers, daughters or sisters)—becomes the epistemological framework to construct their identity and shape the course of their lives.

I argue that amorous and sexual relationships in this novel are depicted as a power struggle to which women (no matter how emancipated) are submitted. In spite of the love stories being as varied as the characters are different, the underlying situations are largely similar. I will examine some of these situations in order to illustrate the gender dynamics that lead to women's submission and lack of agency.

I will end my analysis focusing on the evolution of the protagonist, Ana. I will explore the drawbacks of her sentimental education as she perceives them, showing a gradual crescendo in her ironic view on romantic love that parallels the establishment of her own subjectivity.

As previously mentioned, the verisimilitude of the narration and the familiarity of the readers with the described reality are the novel's most remarkable features. Therefore, a review of some of its stories allows us to broaden the scope from individual issues to structural problems of a society in transition. Rosa Montero states that 'se puede analizar la historia como relaciones humanas: las relaciones sentimentales o las relaciones de poder'

(Interviewed by Escudero and González 2000: 216). One of my objectives is precisely to analyse the Transition through these love and power relationships as presented in her first novel.

The persistence of an antagonising sentimental education that makes intimate relationships between men and women a power struggle pervades Rosa Montero's *Crónica del desamor*. Nieva de la Paz sees a strong connection between Roig's *L'hora violeta* and Montero's *Crónica del desamor* in 'la común sensación de fracaso generacional de sus protagonistas femeninas en las relaciones con el sexo opuesto. En ambas novelas, hombres y mujeres no hablan el mismo lenguaje, sus mundos son paralelos' (1998: 651). This problematic relationship is explored in a discussion about love between Ana and her friends Candela, Elena and Cecilio, which starts when Elena calls into question Cecilio's lovesickness: '-¿Mal de amores tú?—interviene Elena con sorna—. Venga ya, Cecilio, no me lo creo, los tíos no sufrís nunca de mal de amores' (Montero 2010: 105).[134] Elena's statement triggers a debate on the feasibility of generalising about men's and women's differing emotions and ways of relating emotionally to others.

Throughout this discussion, love is characterised as either the means or as the end depending on gender—[Elena speaking] 'los hombres usan la relación para sus fines, mientras que las mujeres se diluyen en ella' (2010: 105-6)—; and the dynamics of romance are seen as a source of (dis)empowerment—[Elena continues] 'en el noventa por ciento de las parejas la que ha de joderse es ella, la que lo pone todo, la que prescinde de su vida y la supedita al hombre, mientras que él se aprovecha de la situación

[134] All subsequent quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

y no entrega nada' (2010: 106). The dialogue echoes feminist arguments of the time, for instance, Shulamith Firestone's that men are 'emotional parasites' who take love, but do not generate or return it to provide women with the emotional sustenance they need.[135]

Francoist sentimental education is at the centre of the discussion as a process through which gender roles have come to condition them all—[Ana agrees with what Elena says and adds] 'la verdad es que hemos tenido una educación repugnante al respecto' (2010: 106). Despite the larger disadvantages for women, they see this sentimental education as being detrimental for both genders, also rejecting women's victimisation:—[Candela intervenes] 'en muchos casos nos pasa lo mismo a todos, y lo terrible es que lo desconocemos, que hay una distancia infinita entre hombres y mujeres, lo terrible es que nos creemos más a nuestros personajes que a nosotros mismos…' (2010: 106-7).

The (un)conscious performance of gender roles that creates a violent separation between men and women has tragic consequences for the way they relate to each other not only intimately but also, by extension, in society. One of these consequences is that amorous relationships are experienced by most female characters in terms of power struggle, some illustrative examples of which I will now examine.

Julita has been abandoned by Antonio, the man whom she married as a virgin, with whom she has lived for fifteen years and has had three children. Ana laments her situation: 'Claro que debe ser difícil, muy difícil […] que la

[135] In the analysis of Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* and Roig's *L'hora violeta*, we will find these same thoughts expressed similarly, with concurrent conclusions on the lack of communication between sexes, the greater importance of love for women, the burden of sentimental education for all, etc.

casa esté llena de él. Y que tú no tengas otra vida que la de ser su esposa' (2010: 100). Julita has become a full-time wife, she has a *relational identity* that depends on the existence of her husband, which gives rise to the implicit question: what happens when she is no longer in that relationship? Ana explains Julita's situation as being that of a victim of an abuse of power: Antonio, her ex-husband, is in love with a younger woman 'precisamente porque es joven, porque es libre e independiente. Ama en ella todo lo que él ayudó a anular en Julita' (2010: 102). Antonio exerted a *symbolic power* over Julita—the victim of symbolic power 'cannot oppose a definition of reality that is to one's own detriment' (Illouz 2012: 137)—encouraging her dependence on him. In turn, Julita, as a good National-Catholic woman, relinquished her freedom. Once Antonio and Julita separate, in theory she has her freedom back, but in practice she has no experience in exercising it.

After 1975, a framework was developed to legally permit women to exercise their freedom, but in personal matters of love, male domination and female submission remained the norm, thus the status quo went unchallenged. As Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer states: 'Todas las mujeres de la novela tienen recuerdos más o menos traumáticos de la época dictatorial recién acabada, y estos recuerdos siguen influyendo en su comportamiento actual impidiéndoles hacer uso razonable de las nuevas libertades' (2007: 112).

Another example of this can be seen in Marisa, a friend of Julita's, who arrives at a birthday party and, observed by Ana, undergoes a double transformation: first 'la chica pálida que nadie conocía' (2010: 109) becomes an amusing, clownish woman; then, the moment her husband arrives, she reverts to being shrinking and blank (her behaviour negates the validity of her subjectivity): 'Ana, viéndola aparecer y desaparecer tras el hombro de su

marido a medida que ésta saluda y se mueve, piensa que la mujer parece haber encogido de repente, que está tensa y como agazapada' (2010: 110). The critical narrative tone from Ana's perspective—making the reader perceive Marisa as being under an obscure threat through the image of a scared animal, 'agazapada'—questions the normality of submission: it shows that it was common, but undesirable, for women like Marisa or Julita not to be subjects in their own right.

The narrator expresses Ana's annoyance not only with male domination but even more with female submission, women's position as victims, their unawareness of gender performance and their complicity in it through the use of the so-called feminine wiles: 'Es extraño: la Pulga, una mujer inteligente, activa, competente, se convierte junto a sus enamorados en otro ser, en una hembra tópicamente femenina, y es la suya una actitud de gata complacida eróticamente que Ana observa con cierta repugnancia' (2010: 219).

Throughout the novel, it is made clear that inherited sentimental education is the determining factor for the behaviour of both women and men, who assimilate their respective gender roles in both love-based and sexual relationships, even despite their individual awareness and resistance. Elena and Candela, Ana's best friends, are different from Julita or Marisa: they are subjects with a life of their own; nonetheless, they are also weighed down by this sentimental education.

'Candela era una mujer fuerte, adulta, competente y decidida. Una mujer con la vida muy hecha, centrada en su trabajo y en su hijo' (2010: 209). When she starts a relationship with Vicente, a married man, Candela feels in control: she seduces him, giving the impression that she does not fit the traditional female stereotype. Yet Vicente shows a lack of interest in

Candela's concerns (seen as women's issues) that necessarily conditions their interaction and her subjectivity:

> Al principio, ella quiso hablarle de sus problemas, de su vida, de sus sensaciones. Vicente la miraba distraído, flotaba por encima de las conversaciones, se aburría. Con los días, Candela aprendió a tocar tan sólo los temas que a él le interesaban. Y le interesaba hablar de él mismo. (2010: 210)

Lena Gunnarsson analyses the microsociology of power in amorous heterosexual relationships and gives a significant explanation of men's disinterest:

> The male tendency to legitimize their non-adaptation by referring to what is important to themselves or to what they are like is often supported by the women. [...] The limits set by the men tend to be seen as absolute features intrinsic to their personalities and the far-reaching *understanding* that the women practice in respect to their partners is underpinned by a playing down of their own needs and wishes. (Italics in the original. 2014: 100)

If Candela was unconcerned about Vicente's marital status at the beginning of the relationship, his detachment makes her feel apprehensive of his absences and provokes her loss of control and her constant adaptation to his rhythms: 'Disimulaba su angustia con sonrisas y día a día fue alterando insensiblemente las costumbres, primero fue prescindir de algunas salidas por si él llamaba, después fue vivir pendiente de las citas' (2010: 210).

A pattern is established: in view of Vicente's emotional domination, Candela is powerless to define the terms of the relationship. Candela then pretends to agree with Vicente's terms and this leads to the end of her autonomy and to her performance of the most traditional gender role:

> Un día él le dijo, '¿sabes, Candela? Tú pareces una mujer muy distinta, pero de hecho no, de hecho eres absolutamente convencional.' Y Candela se dolió y comprendió que sí, que estaba jugando a ser reposo del guerrero—en realidad él ponía los mojones, los límites de su rutina, y después me exigía no sólo serenidad, no sólo paciencia y comprensión, sino también ser una cajita de sorpresas, piensa Candela—y que poco o nada debía separarla entonces de la entregada, insana y alienada mujer legal de Vicente. (2010: 210-11)

Even though Candela is Vicente's lover, she replicates the ritualised rules of marriage, assuming the identity of the 'good wife' as defined by the Francoist 'Sección Femenina', which alienates women as subjects. The character who was previously described as independent and with clear objectives, is now reduced to a *relational being* characterised by her performance of 'el reposo del guerrero', similar to the popular Victorian image of the ideal wife/woman as 'the Angel in the House'.

Elena and Candela share a lack of control over their amorous relationships. Elena meets Javier—'un catedrático brillante y joven' (2010: 64)—, who on their first date: 'hablaba y hablaba, […] mientras ella esperaba pacientemente su oportunidad' (2010: 64-5). Most male characters in *Crónica del desamor* are described with the adjective 'brillante', being looked up to

by female characters. Interestingly, the perception of these men suffers an ironic change when they are put in relation to women, and in particular to women's pleasure.[136]

Elena is attracted to him, so she invites him home, expectant to see what happens, while he (like Vicente) maintains a narcissistic monologue. '[D]e pronto Javier estiró su brazo interminable y sujetó su nuca atrayéndola hacia él, "dame un beso", dijo, se amaron sobre los cojines de la sala. Al mes dejó a su mujer y se trasladó a casa de Elena' (2010: 66). Despite Javier's reaction being opposite to that of Vicente in terms of commitment, the possibility of moving in with Elena is not negotiated but unilaterally decided, leaving her with the same lack of agency as Candela.

As soon as they start living together, Elena discovers that Javier is a 'parasite' as a consequence of his habit to 'ser servido por mujeres, con una larga biografía personal de madres, hermanas, esposas solícitas' (2010: 63-4). Elena is able to emancipate herself from Javier's symbolic power the moment she feels his demands are to her own detriment, 'como un ataque a su libertad' (2010: 64). For a man to maintain his privileges, a woman needs to renounce her freedom and the novel illustrates how this character chooses not to.

The stark gender division established by a patriarchal sentimental education—one that was not exclusive to Franco's dictatorship but, being the bedrock of its morality, was hegemonic and lasted many decades—influenced

[136] We can see this illustrated in the following contrasting quotes: 'Ana conoció a José María cuando contaba apenas veinte años y él rozaba los treinta. Era un hombre cáustico y seguro de sí, una mente *brillante* e irónica que la desconcertó, que le hacía temblar las piernas' (Emphasis added. Montero 2010: 71) and with José María 'Ana perdió el virgo de forma poco *brillante*' (Emphasis added. Montero 2010: 72).

the ways men and women (should) conceive of sex and behave sexually. At the same time,

> el clima social de la transición fue similar, guardando las distancias, al que se produjo en otras culturas occidentales, europeas y americanas, a partir de ciertas perspectivas políticas, condiciones económicas, movimientos civiles, avances científicos, que desde los sesenta condujeron a nuevas perspectivas de la mujer en las sociedades contemporáneas: nuevos roles, nueva crítica, redescubierta historia de las mujeres. (Moszczyńska-Dürst and Pardo 2013: 374)

This results in the abovementioned disjuncture between old and new *usos amorosos*.

The National-Catholic sexual morality was not only inculcated in individuals but enshrined in the Civil Code and, as we know, its strictest elements disproportionately affected women. The novel shows how the illegality of both contraception and abortion not only impedes women to experience sex from a position of freedom (a position men can easily take up) but also put women and women's bodies (but not men's) in dire situations. When Candela is hospitalised due to a peritonitis caused by an IUD 'colocado sin previsión ni escrúpulos en una anatomía de reciente aborto', she ponders 'esa supuesta liberación que a ojos de muchos hombres sólo se concretaba en lo sexual, en tener hembras más dispuestas, en olvidar el odiado condón, el coito interrumpido. […] como si eso fuera suficiente. […] Liberador de quién' (2010: 37). Even though the demand for legal measures is unambiguous throughout the novel, the solution to this inequality is

conceived of as going beyond that demand. It is unequal sex ethics, which favour men while punishing women, that make factual liberation impossible for society as a whole, hence disputing the celebrated sexual revolution of the Transition.

Crónica exposes how sex, like love, is ultimately stereotyped according to the performance of gender roles. In the Transition, the stereotypes might have changed, especially in the case of women: 'El hombre ha de ser tópicamente potente, la mujer tópicamente insaciable' (2010: 229), but both men and women stay 'encadenados […] a nuestro rol' (2010: 231).

As a consequence of this stereotypical sexual interaction, the antagonising relationship persists; like love, sexual dynamics are represented as a battle between sexes, 'una febril lucha por alcanzar el orgasmo' (2010: 229), one that both lose: 'Si ella no lo consigue se siente anormal y fracasada. Y si él no se lo provoca, se encuentra inhábil, poco viril y derrotado' (2010: 229). Scared of not measuring up to the new standards, Ana fakes her orgasms, feeling at the same time a victim and an accomplice of 'una sexualidad machista que esclaviza hoy a hombres y mujeres' (2010: 230).

Indeed, most female characters in the novels examined here have traumatic sexual experiences with men. In *Crónica*, the double standard (still very much prevalent in the configuration of sex ethics today) with its dramatic consequences is confronted repeatedly. The classic example of double standard in terms of sexual education is the traditional virginity required of women against the expected male sex experience, which is drastically illustrated in the case of nineteen-year-old newly-wed Pulga whose wedding night is described as a rape and leaves her traumatised and unable to have sex with her husband ever again, the couple getting divorced eight years later.

The discourse of sexual liberation that started to gain traction in late Francoism, however, changes the nature of female virginity. The scene in which Elena wants to have sex for the first time, described at length in the novel, puts forward the coexistence of conflicting *usos*, and how this transitional sexual liberation clashes with National-Catholic morality. Kristin Kerbavaz briefly analyses this particular scene, focusing on the imposition of male and the silencing of female desire (2015: 58). I will approach it in terms of the interconnection between the deployment of male power and the construction of female subjectivity.

In this scene, Elena is determined to lose her virginity despite her education 'en el desconocimiento y la repugnancia del sexo' (2010: 56), a message that comes from 'todas esas madres, tías, abuelas que le han enseñado que el hombre es un vicioso cuyo único objetivo es acostarse contigo' (2010: 61). This sexual ideology makes men the subject, and women the object, of sex. The antagonising dynamic in which sex is made a male prize at the expense of women casts men as enemies while alienating women from sex, leaving the latter with the only other possible prize: love. The interdependence of love and sex as part of women's sentimental education is fundamental to the patriarchy.

When Elena decides to have sex for the first time with her college boyfriend Miguel Ángel, 'se alegra de quererle mucho' (2010: 56), suggesting that love somehow legitimises her decision. When Elena and Miguel Ángel are about to have sex, their moods are described in completely divergent terms: 'Él está contento, ¿o quizá nervioso? y habla mucho, hace bromas, disfruta sintiéndose *brillante*. Elena calla mientras sonríe con un

gesto entre feliz y bobo que está empezando a descubrir en sí misma cuando se cree enamorada' (Emphasis added. 2010: 56). Notice again the use of the adjective 'brillante' to describe the man's attitude or personality in contrast with the following sexual scene in which his lack of 'brilliance' is made evident.

Miguel Ángel changes his mind about having sexual intercourse with Elena after she confesses to be a virgin, making her feel 'avergonzada de ser virgen, sintiéndose rechazada' (2010: 58). Far from experiencing her virginity as desirable, Elena sees it as humiliating. In the dictatorial context in which women were mainly perceived within a dichotomy of 'buenas' or 'putas' (as we saw in Tusquets's short story), virginity is an asset. But this mental framework coexists with a new context in which sexual liberation is celebrated and virginity becomes an inconvenience for women.

Considering how valuable virginity is according to their inherited sentimental education, having sex with a virgin is seen as deserving of a proper courtship. This is why Miguel Ángel responds 'es mejor que encuentres a alguien que te merezca más' (2010: 59). Elena, interpreting this as a question of commitment, reacts by playing down the situation and separating love and sex: 'tienes miedo de que por ser virgen me vaya a colgar de tu chepa y no sepas qué hacer conmigo' (2010: 59). Elena tries to refute Miguel Ángel's affirmation: 'no soy digno' (2010: 59) without success, thus the sense of empowerment brought about by her determination to lose her virginity disappears, concluding that 'era la incomprensión lo que hacía todo más doloroso' (2010: 60).

In this upsetting situation, Elena '[q]uiere recostarse en su hombro [Miguel Ángel's shoulder], sentirse querida y abrazada' (2010: 61). Instead,

Miguel Ángel asks her first to masturbate him, and then to fellate him; another double standard and sexual hypocrisy impedes sexual penetration, but it does not impede him, as sexual subject, having an orgasm. While Miguel Ángel is pleasured, Elena 'no está excitada en absoluto, se encuentra a sí misma vacía, abandonada y sin respuestas' (2010: 61). The situation slightly disgusts Elena and the only thing she wishes is 'que Miguel Ángel vuelva a ser de nuevo cariñoso' (2010: 61).

Later, Elena reconsiders the relationship between love and sex, and regains the sense of empowerment—and with it, the original determination to lose her virginity—that was lost after her anticlimax with Miguel Ángel. If her original plan was romantically idealised, her new strategy is characterised by pragmatism: 'buscó en su entorno alguien idóneo que pudiera desvirgarla, eligiendo al fin con frío cálculo a un amigo profesor, un hombre de cuarenta años, cariñoso y amable, un hombre experto que supo hacerlo con dulzura pocas semanas después' (2010: 62). Hence Elena gets rid of what she had come to see as a problem of hers. That Elena perceives losing her virginity in this way is a consequence of the feminisation of love discussed further below in relation to Ana's pursuit of a partner.

The novel begins and ends with the protagonist's statement of her loneliness: 'La casa está fría y sobre todo sola. […] la casa está tan fría y sola' (2010: 19) / 'la casa está más fría y sola que nunca' (2010: 257). In spite of having a son and close friends, Ana feels lonely because she lacks a partner.

Ana tries to comfort her friend Cecilio when it is he who expresses his fear of loneliness implicit in growing old without a partner—'intentaba discutirle con optimismo forzado, no, hombre, Cecilio, lo que tenemos que hacer es buscar una alternativa a la familia tradicional, lograr crear un clan de

apoyo y cobijo entre amigos' (2010: 78)—, although she sees herself reflected in him. Both Ana—as a single mother—and Cecilio—as a gay man—are excluded from the heteronormative social structure of patriarchal Spain.[137] Ana only pretends to offer an alternative to this structure because, like Cecilio, she too feels lonely and seeks a partner, despite admitting with irony that their longing for love 'no es más que el último símbolo, el más patente, del desencuentro de todas las relaciones, del hundimiento de la fe en la pareja' (2010: 128). Ana characterises the Transition by *desamor,* deploring that: 'los amantes no se aman, no se sienten' (2010: 229).

The traditional relationship based on a kind of love that confines women and creates power imbalance between the sexes is problematised, but the alternative of a relationship amongst equals founded on a liberated and liberating love does not yet exist; Ana can only imagine it. The ever-present nature of this problem, not yet solved, is pointed out by sociologists today: 'Monogamous love tends to privilege sexual couples and associated families over all other social relationships–with the concomitant devaluing of other loves and relationships. The privileging of coupledom is as entrenched as ever; and now, in many western countries, it is extended to gay couples' (Jackson 2014: 42).

Ana is portrayed as a critical woman, aware of the drawbacks of her sentimental education, yet eager to make compromises in order to stop feeling lonely. Authors who rethink romantic relationships nowadays still raise the state of being single (especially the state of women being single) as an acute but widespread problem: 'Una quiere escapar de la soltería para escapar de la

[137] For an analysis of the depiction of homosexual men in Montero's novels, see Franz (1997).

soledad. […] ¿Para qué te vas a abrazar a la soledad si puedes atarte al amor?' (Rowan and Nanclares 2015: 97). Although expressed with obvious sarcasm, this question contains a dilemma that most of our female characters (and women in general) have to resolve.

Ana's solitude appears to increase (her house is by the end of the novel 'más fría y sola que nunca'), but her subjectivisation also evolves significantly through the novel. To be able to appreciate such a change, we need to consider the trajectory of her relationship with, and approach to making decisions about, love.[138]

At the beginning of the novel, Ana evaluates herself in relation to her failure or her success in dating men; being liked is a challenge inherent in every encounter: 'saldrá y será encantadora, inteligente, divertida y amable, [que] representará con sabio hábito su papel de mujer fuerte y libre, ni exigencias ni lágrimas que son deleznables y femeninos defectos' (2010: 21).

When analysing Jane Austen's characters, Eva Illouz affirms that 'their selfhood seems to be less dependent on a man's gaze than is the selfhood of modern women' (2012: 25). In this pre-modern context, courtship depended on objective elements (class, origin, family etc.) and it was the man's task to win the woman over. The sentimental education developed in modernity relegated love to the private sphere, giving women an increasingly salient role. In a modern context, women are conditioned by men's expectations and find themselves 'in a position fraught with tension because they carry simultaneous ideals of care and autonomy, and, more critically, because often they view themselves as having to worry about their own *and* the man's

[138] For an analysis of the reconfiguration of love in Montero's *La función delta* and *Te trataré como a una reina*, see e.g. Moszczyńska-Dürst and Pardo (2013).

autonomy' (Italics in the original. Illouz 2012: 137). Women, as the party confronting the majority of issues in an amorous/sexual relationship, adapt to or challenge each period's *usos amorosos*. If, during the dictatorship, the ritual of courtship had clear rules and was developed in the public sphere (described in detail by Martín Gaite 1987), in the transition between *usos amorosos*, this ritual has become obsolete, leaving people with no clear guidance. This explains why we see Ana feeling responsible for her dates' development and performing the qualities she thinks will please a man in the post-dictatorial context: instead of 'being' independent, she 'performs' the role of an independent woman.

As a consequence of the feminisation of love, the 'task' of finding a partner relies on Ana's skills and it becomes her priority—as, in this sense, did Elena's 'task' of losing her virginity. When a man (a possible candidate to relieve her loneliness) calls Ana, she abandons any other plan and goes out with him. In the context of dating, conflict is to be avoided at all costs: 'Ana ha aprendido a ser precavida. A las preguntas contesta con preguntas para disminuir los riesgos de la batalla' (2010: 22). The interaction is still described as a battle, the same term used by Martín Gaite to detail the post-war performance of courtship, with the difference that with the transitional 'sexual revolution' in the making, men are no longer obliged to make any kind of commitment.

While Ana drops everything to accommodate a date with a man, men do not do the same; moreover, they stand her up: 'Ha ordenado su día en torno a estas tres horas, ha prescindido de citas, ha postergado los trabajos. Ahora se siente paralizada por el incómodo estupor que da la ausencia' (2010: 23). These situations are not isolated and leave her frustrated. She deliberates: 'es

inmoral, poco discreto y fuera de todo orden olvidarse de la propia existencia' (2010: 25). Once again, her lack of control over the situation, her powerlessness in defining the terms of a relationship, relegates her own existence to secondary position. Ana's increasing awareness of this imbalance progressively diminishes the exertion of men's symbolic power over her.

Ana's moment of autonomy—'una época dorada en la que se sintió autosuficiente y libre' (2010: 42)—comes after failing to maintain a stable relationship with Juan, her son's father. Ana starts working and assumes control of her life, while emotionally relating to men 'con distanciamiento tópicamente varonil' (2010: 42). In Tusquets's short story, we have seen how detachment means power and control, but excludes love and commitment. As time passes, Ana 'añora el torpe y tierno abrazo de un amante dormido' (2010: 42), and she returns to a frenzied pursuit of love which involves imagining and projecting love. Illouz affirms that 'nowhere more clearly than in love can we observe the constitutive role of imagination: i.e. its capacity to substitute for a real object and to create it' (2012: 200). Discussing love as an invention, Montero states that:

> El amor-pasión […] es una capacidad de engaño, un espejismo que te creas […]. Pasa alguien cerca de ti y tú, que tienes esa capacidad y necesidad de amor, te inventas el amor hacia esa persona y te inventas a esa persona. Ese amor-pasión está condenado obligatoriamente a la frustración porque el conocimiento de esa persona destruye esa imagen amorosa que te has hecho. (Interviewed by Escudero and González 2000: 216)

Ana is so invested in the pursuit of love that she decides to consciously choose an object for her love: Soto Amón, a man who incarnates the archetype of the 'winner of the Transition', analysed in Chapter Two. Ana starts speculating about him at work where he is (and plays) the big boss, regarding him as a unique individual: 'Era quizá tímido, quizá humano, bajo su envoltura sin arrugas de madelman perfecto' (2010: 49). Ana acts like a typical lover in this situation, i.e. she 'intensely focuses [his or] her attention on this preferred individual, aggrandizing the beloved's better traits and overlooking or minimizing his [or her] flaws' (Fisher, H. 2006: 88).

Ana's choice to speculate and fantasise about Soto Amón is an example of Kate Millet's well-known statement about romantic love as the opium of women: 'así está, negándose a sí misma, […] evadiéndose de lo real a través de un irreal amor por Soto Amón' (2010: 50). Ana uses this strategy of escapism at their workplace, where she finds herself professionally limited and her talents underestimated. Love offers her a way to avoid confronting her own life, instead focusing on someone else's success.

Ana's feelings for Soto Amón are based on an imaginary man but this does not make her feelings any less real. Imagination creates 'beliefs about actions and characters which we know do not exist', says Illouz following Bijoy Boruah. 'Yet, Boruah continues, these "unasserted beliefs"—imagination—provoke real emotions' (Illouz 2012: 210). Projecting onto him everything she desires becomes an obsession for Ana: 'le imagina, le inventa, le recrea. Quiero ver en él al hombre inexistente' (2010: 76).

A striking property of romantic love is what Helen Fisher calls 'intrusive thinking', an uncontrolled mechanism that makes lovers think obsessively about their beloved to the point that '[t]heir craving for emotional

union supersedes their longing for sexual contact' (2006: 88). Admitting to be an emotionally monogamous person, 'Ana quiere a Soto Amón o se lo inventa -qué más da- y es sólo con él con quien desea dormir, que es más aún que hacer el amor, es decir, que es prueba más difícil' (2010: 227).

Emotions created through imagination follow the pattern of fictional stories, which in turn 'come to form the cognitive templates of anticipatory emotions' (Illouz 2012: 210). According to Illouz, 'it is not only disappointment, but the anticipation of disappointment that is a modern feature of love' (2012: 216). Disappointment (*desamor*) becomes a cultural practice in modernity, marking a profound change in the perception of enchanted love 'in the form of a suspicion for and dismissal of the experience of it' (Illouz 2012: 161). Ana, as a (post)modern woman, has a disenchanted approach to love, which is self-conscious and full of irony.

That Ana daydreams of appealing scenarios (creating the non-existent man) does not mean that she is not expecting more realistic (and unappealing) ones, knowing that Soto Amón is in fact a womaniser. When she finally meets Soto Amón at a work event and captures his attention, she affirms: 'Se desarrolla, pues, la pantomima con asombrosa semejanza a lo previsto' (2010: 256). The powerful Soto Amón (who is married and has a family) has the urge to seduce/control her and takes her away from the party, with the two of them ending up in a flat that he uses as a love nest for his extra-marital affairs.

During their sexual interaction, Ana is unable to experience any kind of self-abandonment, and when they leave the flat she has already fallen out of love. Finally taking control of the situation, she refuses his offer to accompany her, choosing to get in a taxi alone.

> Están en el portal, él la mira con aliviada sorpresa, 'hombre, te lo agradecería porque... ¿no te importa?', dice, 'no, no, lo prefiero', contesta Ana en tono seco. Pero en los ojos de Soto Amón el alivio ha dejado paso a una sombra de duda, un relámpago de suspicacia, '¿seguro que no quieres que te acompañe?,' insiste ahora él, repentinamente solícito, observándola con atenta, estrecha mirada por primera vez en toda la noche. (2010: 256)

The discomfiture felt by Soto Amón is explained by Ana's rebalancing of power between them in showing him that not only does she not need him, but that she would rather go without him, making a genuine, autonomous choice.

The reality of this encounter creates in Ana an 'ironic' romantic feeling that transforms enchanted love into a disenchanted experience. Ana's worst (and more realistic) expectations have been met, yet she regrets nothing; 'sólo le duele que fuera el propio Soto Amón quien se quitara la corbata en un automático, bien ensayado, autosuficiente gesto' (2010: 258). This well-rehearsed and even better performed gesture of power comprises the key issue of the novel: men's emotional domination over women. Emancipated from it, Ana is determined to write 'una crónica del desamor cotidiano, rubricada por la mediocridad de ese nudo de seda deshecho por la rutina y el tedio' (2010: 258).

At the end of the novel the house might feel colder and lonelier but Ana's existence has been validated and, with it, the experiences of people around her. Emancipated and empowered, she becomes the narrator of a contemporary collective *desamor*.

In their analysis of *Crónica del desamor*, some critics interpret the characters' *desencanto* as a process of depolitisation that makes the characters look for 'sentido de vida y realización en el amor y en la sexualidad' (Moszczyńska-Dürst 2017: 40), rather than in collective projects. 'The characters look inward and to each other making their own lives and not politics the centre of their attention: self revelation replaces political revolution' (Marcone 1998: 64). Some critics also focus on 'la preocupación existencialista de Rosa Montero' (Amell, A. 1992b: 79) in *Crónica del desamor*, and take a psychological approach to her characters, affirming their individual loneliness as a consequence of their disappointments at a personal level, or to 'la problemática relación del individuo con su medio, casi nunca desde una perspectiva social, sino psicológica, cotidiana e individual' (Bellido 1992: 251). Other critics, however, state that 'llega a ser un libro con verdaderas implicaciones sociales' (Kerbavaz 2015: 55). My analysis, without necessarily refuting the former interpretation, coincides with the latter.

I agree with Sebastiaan Faber when he affirms that 'a Montero como novelista y periodista le interesa la política de la vida diaria, manifestada en las relaciones desiguales o abusivas entre géneros y generaciones, en el ambiente profesional tanto como el personal y sentimental' (2009: 317). In his *La narrativa de Rosa Montero: hacia una ética de la esperanza*, Javier Escudero analyses Ana's disappointment with Soto Amón in parallel with society's *desencanto* with the new political leaders (2005: 33). Building on this argument, having linked Soto Amon's gesture with his tie to the

performance of the winners of the Transition examined in Chapter Two, I argue that the personal sphere in the novel is a place to explore the political.

In *Crónica del desamor,* love (or the opposite, *desamor*) is the paradigm in which inequality between men and women is made visible: like in the political transition, it is men who have a voice and make decisions, while women are forced to wait and end up either resisting or adapting to the given situation. As Illouz affirms, 'men and women, in their intimate relations, play out the inequality that characterizes their relations in society at large' (2012: 70). The conditions for love replicate the gender power structures of the public sphere, where things–despite the narrative of the 'new Spain'–do not happen anew. Hence the personal 'desamor' is the mirror image of the political 'desencanto', as expressed in Elena's way of experiencing both: 'vive el desamor con melancolía y sin lágrimas, sólo con agobiante cansancio, con el convencimiento de lo irreversible, de la pérdida definitiva: el mismo agotamiento de cuando abandonó el PCE' (2010: 66), ultimately creating a connection between love and politics through disappointment.

3. A new conception of love as intimacy in Tusquets's novel *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*

Esther Tusquets's novel *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* (1978) is a love story often analysed as a bildungsroman with an unhappy ending. When Elia—the novel's bourgeois Catalan protagonist—discovers that her husband Julio has left her for a younger woman, she embarks on a journey to her childhood home where the novel starts. Soon after, Elia meets Clara—a young woman from Colombia who attends her poetry lectures—and they build a relationship throughout the novel. The relationship between Elia and

Clara fails because the former goes back to Julio, her (unfaithful) husband, hence—according to some interpretations of the novel—in the end she submits to patriarchal imperatives. Not all critics agree with this interpretation of the ending: while some focus on Elia, caught in the quagmire of her own destructiveness, as 'a heroine who is incapable of change' (Servodidio 1987: 158), others highlight the fact that 'Tusquets liberates her secondary character, Clara, who represents the future' (Stanley 2014: 9).

Within the framework of a feminist *sentimental counter-education*, I argue that Tusquets constructs a *relational* bildungsroman in which two different subjectivities operate, leading to two different endings, as a reflection of the liminal historical period examined here.

To support my argument, I will first examine how repressive structures—a sentimental education based on gender division, both in society (in general) and in Elia's bourgeois family (in particular)—provide Elia with models for 'growing down' instead of 'growing up', and therefore they condition her subjectivisation. The expression 'growing down' comes from Annis Pratt's *Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction*: 'According to Annis Pratt, the female Bildungsroman demonstrates how society provides women with models for "growing down" instead of "growing up", as is the case in the male model' (Lazzaro-Weis 1990: 17).

I will then argue for an understanding of love in this novel as intimacy. Engaging with the inwardness of our protagonist-narrator, I will explore both Elia's personal reconstruction and Clara's construction of the self, and with them, their human potentiality through the vulnerability of their *becoming* in love. I use the verb 'to become' instead of 'to fall' in love deliberately, not

only to avoid the negative connotations of 'to fall' but to imply that in the novel (and in life) love is a process.

Exploring love will lead us to sex and sexuality, inseparable elements in this novel. Instead of focusing on the protagonist's lesbianism, I will expose a sexual fluidity which forces us to reconsider love. Fluidity does not mean, however, ambiguity in the characters' sexual relationship, an ambiguity that some critics have mentioned (see Manteiga 1988: 30). I am interested in highlighting such fluidity in relation to the lack of previous patterns relevant to their relationship in contrast to Elia's inherited sentimental education. In this sense, I agree with Rosalía Cornejo when she states that: 'las rígidas categorizaciones sexuales asignadas en el guión heterosexual, y que aseguran una ubicación fija, se problematizan en la novela de Tusquets' (1995: 60). This problematisation works as a warning, as I will argue at the end of this chapter.

I do not address lesbianism directly because, in my interpretation, the protagonist inhabits a sexual spectrum enabled by love as a way of transcending individuality and reaching freedom and social justice, experienced both with Jorge and Clara. This bisexuality has been mentioned by Nina Molinaro when she says: 'Tusquets revolutionized Spanish prose and turned the previously taboo subjects of lesbian desire and bisexuality into novel-worthy and publishable commodities' (2014: X-XI), also arguing that both lesbian desire and bisexuality were subjects people wanted to read about in the transitional period.

Finally, I will interpret the double ending of the novel, affirming, on the one hand, that the lack of an anticipated happy ending works as a rejection of the romance scheme within the parameters of the Francoist *pathos* and, on the

other, that Clara—not Elia—does go through a coming-of-age, emerging triumphant.

With this interpretation, I intend to show, from a feminist perspective, how the novel tackles the problematic relationship between experience, subjectivity and social structures within a Spanish society in transition.

In her dissertation, Ana Palomar affirms that 'the literary themes and motifs that emerge in the new paradigm of the Spanish novel after 1975, present female protagonists who achieve a sense of identity via the effects of the Spanish Civil War, solitude, loss of innocence, and disillusion' (2015: 40). This is a particularly apt description of Elia's subjectivisation: the aforementioned effects have such an impact on the protagonist's life that they eliminate her capacity to have a life of her own. In Stanley's words, '[a]s a middle-aged character indoctrinated in the Francoist feminine ideal of wifedom, motherhood, and dependency on a male figure, the quest for autonomy by Tusquets's protagonist is, at best, quixotic' (2014: 6).[139]

I have already mentioned the resistance of Tusquets's characters to believing in the fact of their own privileges as winners in post-Civil war Spain. In *El mismo mar,* Elia's critical perception—shown through the ironic,

[139] It is worth mentioning that the novel was re-edited in 1997 by Santos Sanz Villanueva, resulting in a rather different text. Inmaculada Pertusa-Seva examines this reedition and concludes that there are such significant differences in comparison to the original that it becomes an entirely new text. Amongst the changes we can find, there is the protagonist's name, Elia, absent in the original; many more full stops are used and photos of the author interspersed in the text. Pertusa-Seva affirms that Sanz Villanueva includes so many explanations in his footnotes that they even contain spoilers (See Pertusa-Seva 2014).
In the original edition, the punctuation is kept to a minimum, giving the impression of a stream of consciousness. According to Manuel Villalba, 'El modelo textual de *El mismo mar*… se acercar al del monólogo interior en cuanto que no está formulado para un discurso deliberado. Así lo indica, en el nivel ortográfico, el escaso uso de signos ortográficos que representen una pausa fuerte, como el punto y aparte' (2008: 237). At the same time, there is an 'intento de hacer inteligible el caos del flujo de la conciencia para un lector implícito o un narratario' (Villalba 2008: 239) which reinforces the potential identification of the reader with the narrator/protagonist. For an analysis focused on the construction of the narrator's consciousness as the essential subject matter of *El mismo mar*, see Villalba (2008).

often disparaging, tone she uses to describe Catalan bourgeoisie—detaches her from her own class and translates into a feeling of not belonging in her own family.

In Elia's family, there is a matrilineality which fails because of her nonconformity. In the presence of her mother and her daughter, Elia feels like an outsider: 'un eslabón torcido en una cadena irreprochable' (Tusquets 1981: 22).[140] The principal attribute that unites these women and prevents Elia from identifying with them is their compliance with the demands of their class and, more importantly, of their gender role.

A stronger affinity exists between Elia and her grandmother. The main reason for this is that, unlike Elia's mother, her grandmother challenges the imposition of gender roles, which is hinted at in the description of the parties Elia's grandmother used to attend. Amongst these descriptions, Elia draws attention to one particular party, 'un asalto infernal, donde todos, hombres y mujeres, llevaban idéntico disfraz' (1981: 94). Although Elia's grandmother goes to other parties wearing translucent tops that make her breasts visible (which could potentially be seen as subversive), the real subversion is that 'mis abuelos y sus amigos fueran, con casi cien años de antelación, precursores del unisex' (1981: 95), rendering the traditional gender division void.

Elia's grandmother is, however, characterised as an unhappily married young woman 'que permitía se le atribuyeran múltiples amantes y se llenaba la boca con las increíbles hazañas que llevaría a cabo en cuanto muriera su

[140] All subsequent quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

marido' (1981: 146-7). Elia's grandfather is portrayed as an 'ox' unable to understand his wife's yearning for freedom who, according to Elia:

> no quiso hacerle tan siquiera el favor mínimo de morir cuando todavía era tiempo, cuando ella hubiera podido asumir su elegante disfraz de viuda alegre y llevar, utilizando astutamente sus encantos femeninos y su inteligencia de varón, una vida magnífica y disipada. (1981: 147)

Elia's grandmother is depicted as being both feminine and masculine, a portrayal that insists on her potential to subvert the prevailing social order. However, while she is allowed to have lovers and to attend bacchanalia, 'no le estaba permitido liberarse del buey que la pisoteaba, que la poseía noche tras noche en la cama sin entenderla' (1981: 147-8). It is class that permits Elia's grandmother—as well as Elia's mother, and Elia herself—all kinds of indiscretions, but gender-based social rules keep her under the yoke of her husband.

The only thing that could liberate Elia's grandmother would be her husband's death 'y el viejo no moría, mientras ella—nosotras—sí iba muriendo un poco cada día, un poquito todos los días' (1981: 148).[141] The dictates of gender are handed down from woman to woman thus conditioning the entire matrilineality: 'nosotras'. This matrilineality creates the illusion of a 'sólida cadena de mujeres […] como si en mi familia no existieran, no hubieran existido jamás, elementos masculinos' (1981: 141), but in Elia's

[141] Divorce was not legalised in Spain until 22 June 1981. The divorce law, one of the most important feminist demands during the Transition, finally permitted the termination of a marriage in two years following the legal separation of the partners.

bourgeois/patriarchal context, women become no more than possessions for men, thus what follows is men's abuse in the exercise of power.

The continuity of this scheme of power is guaranteed by women's conformity, represented here by Elia's mother and daughter. They confront Elia at her grandmother's funeral regarding Julio's last affair, not because they are empathically concerned about Elia's abandonment but because Elia's unexpected escape from the house disrupts the status quo. Both women trivialise Elia's situation, pandering to Julio and excusing his conduct: describing him as 'el mejor de los maridos', they argue that 'en un hombre como él sus escapadas no tienen importancia, tan cortas siempre además' (1981: 144). Upholding the traditional *usos amorosos*, they imply that while Julio's autonomy is legitimate, Elia's is not. Elia is expected to be Penelope, waiting for Julio, abiding by her husband's decisions, like her mother and her grandmother before her.[142]

It is worth pausing here to analyse an episode in Elia's life, described at length at the end of the novel, that perfectly illustrates how the acceptance of gender roles in relation to love and sexuality is vital for the stability and perpetuation of the capitalist/bourgeois and patriarchal society from which Elia comes and within which she feels alienated—an alienation/isolation that is also part of her subjectivisation.

The episode takes place when she is still a girl, in her grandmother's house, where Elia and her mother spend every summer holiday. The summer in question, her father unexpectedly decides to stay with them. Every day, her

[142] The importance of the archetype of Penelope will be examined further in the analysis of Roig's *L'hora violeta* below. For an analysis of this archetype in Tusquets's work see e.g. Silva (2006).

father sits in a rocking chair to read while Elia plays with her nanny, Sofía. The three of them spend day after day in the patio, while Elia's mother, 'la diosa marmórea de serena blancura' (1981: 167) only comes in occasionally and briefly, and interrupts what is perceived by Elia as a scene of 'intimidad mágica' (1981: 167). As soon as Elia's mother would come in, 'se levantaba presurosa Sofía—inoportunamente sonrojada, cómo pude no darme cuenta—, y papá se quitaba fastidiado unos instantes la pipa de la boca' (1981: 167).

Even though the protagonist, whose narration fluctuates between her perception as a girl and her reflections as an adult, does not verbalise the love affair between her father and Sofía, the implications are obvious and become more evident when her mother finds out, turning into 'la más desmelenada e incontrolada de las bacantes dionisíacas, en una arpía vocinglera y destemplada, que gritaba y gritaba como una rata sucia a la que le estuvieran rompiendo a escobazo limpio el espinazo' (1981: 168).

The discussion of this love triangle serves to illustrate the narrator's perspective on love, one that is incompatible with the social structure that results from (and is perpetuated by) the unfolding events. The narration entertainingly describes the violence of Elia's mother's transformation—to Elia's surprise—from goddess to rat, the hypocritical overreaction of a woman more preoccupied with what others might think than with any feeling of betrayal: 'nos gritó hasta perder el resuello que la habíamos puesto en ridículo […] y qué dirían sus amigas y qué habrían pensado los vecinos' (1981: 168).

Elia's father is the focal point of the scene, in spite of his detachment and apparent lack of involvement—'como si él no tuviera mucho que ver en definitiva con todo aquel enojoso asunto' (1981: 169)—, because as head of

the family in a traditional context, he is the only one capable of deciding the conclusion to the turn of events. Sofía, who is fully aware of this, is according to Elia 'atenta únicamente a las reacciones—a la no reacción—de mi padre, a las palabras que mi padre no decía' (1981: 170).

Elia's narration visibly sympathises with Sofía, depicted as a woman simply and fully in love. Although both Elia's mother and Sofía are powerlessly dependent on the man's response to the situation, their reactions are described in opposite terms. Her mother's concern with appearances contrasts with Sofía's naive paralysis (in expectation of her lover's response) and her further destruction (as consequence of her lover's lack of response).[143]

Elia regards her father's attitude as a manly albeit cowardly act, in relation to Sofía's expectations and her 'mirada terrible del amor total' (1981: 171—2). This pure love, a feeling so powerful that, according to Elia, it terrifies the bravest of heroes, has no place in this bourgeois and patriarchal context in which everyone has to perform according to their role, a role ultimately decided by Elia's father:

> Mi padre eligió por los tres, o había decidido tal vez ya desde antes de que se iniciara la historia […] reduciendo a mi madre a representar un papel de rata—el único posible, el único que le habían asignado en la historia—[…] condenó a Sofía a la desolada aceptación de la derrota. (1981: 173)

In order to regain his power and to restore the social order, Elia's father—'tan literario casi siempre y tan amante de los gestos simbólicos'

[143] Elia's perception here concurs with the prevalent vision of love held by most feminists in the 70s: 'While feminists linked love to social structure in terms of ideological support for capitalism and/or patriarchy, they often implied that these oppressive social systems distorted some "purer" emotion' (Jackson 2014: 39).

(1981: 173)—needs to make a dramatic gesture. Elia's mother fires Sofía the following day but this does not restore the social order. This restoration—which does not consist of marital fidelity but of the performance of male power and female submission in the public sphere—is carried out that same day by Elia's father during the last big party of the summer.

Her father makes his entry to the party flanked by both his wife and his lover, one on each arm,

> porque papá las obligó a arreglarse como si nada hubiera pasado—recuperado el dominio de la situación, los poderes de mando, que únicamente porque no quiso no había asumido en el patio la misma mañana—, las obligó a ponerse los vestidos que habían preparado, a peinarse y maquillarse con cuidado—quiero que estéis muy guapas, quiero que seáis las reinas de la fiesta. (1981: 174)

What we might interpret as a humiliating moment for both women is an empowering act for the man. Through this performed sense of entitlement, Elia's father seeks to be the centre of attention, attention that Elia does not want: 'sentía que todos—los muy hijos de puta—nos miraban y que la atención se repartía por igual entre las actuaciones de la pista y lo que se suponía iba a ocurrir en nuestra mesa' (1981: 175).

Elia's mother, used to being in the spotlight and concerned as she is with appearances, pretends that nothing has happened. By contrast, the real victim, Sofía, is rigid and completely powerless, staring with 'unos ojos secos, impecablemente maquillados—implacablemente secos y maquillados—y tan espantosamente vacíos, unos ojos en los que ya no había miradas, sino el vacío atroz de una única mirada asesinada' (1981: 176).

The dramatic means of restoring the social order, exemplified in Elia's father's power, finally materialises in a fundraising endeavour that the bourgeois party attendees have organised to build the side altar of the local church's chapel. To raise this money, wax roses will be on sale during the party at an exorbitant price,

> no tanto para que se pudiera alcanzar la cantidad requerida […] como para que sólo los más poderosos del lugar pudieran comprar una rosa para la esposa, para la novia, para la hermana, y al fijar un precio tan alto triunfaba por una vez el afán de vanidad sobre su inveterada tacañería. (1981: 177)

The narration ridicules the stereotypical miserliness of the Catalan bourgeoisie, only overcome—at such public events—by their desire to stand out in terms of (economic) power.

As soon as the girl in charge of selling the roses comes in, Elia's father springs from his chair and meets her in the middle of the stage, immediately buying the whole basket of roses: 'mi padre estaba dando en nuestro honor […] el gran golpe de efecto de la noche' (1981: 179). His performative act of power addresses both class and gender. Firstly, there is an ostentation of wealth and status: every rose has an astronomical price and he takes them all, leaving everyone else in the party without the possibility of satisfying their pride. Secondly, he challenges social conventions only to prove his domination over a love triangle that has become a matter of gossip: instead of giving the roses to his wife (or even his daughter), 'sabíamos que mi padre iba a depositar sobre el regazo de una Sofía al borde del desmayo la disparatada cesta llena de rosas' (1981: 179).

While class differences are very much present, Elia's narration portrays Sofía as a victim of love because it is love that makes her completely vulnerable. Elia's father does not return her love and kills her subjectivity as a consequence (which we see by reference to her dead eyes). Elia herself identifies with Sofía because she does not understand love as a social convention as her parents do, but rather as a liberating force, a force without limits that can break social conventions by itself. Sofía's destiny (as a result of her father's exertion of power in the described patriarchal/bourgeois context) becomes part of Elia's sentimental education and this scene (with its combination of female lack of agency and male performance of power) helps explain the inevitability of Elia's submission to her husband at the end of the novel.

On an initial examination, the fact that Julio leaves Elia for a younger woman seems to be a plot trigger, that is to say, the emotional loss that causes Elia to embark on the journey to her childhood home where the novel starts. I find this problematic because, firstly, Elia claims she feels as lonely in Julio's presence as when he is not there, and secondly, because she is used to his absences and knows he will return: 'Julio ha partido una vez más con rumbo desconocido […] tan conocido por otra parte, tan seguro el regreso' (1981: 40).

Elia confronts this familiar scene differently this time: 'esta vez no ha de encontrarme a mí al regresar, porque he escapado a mis antiguas madrigueras, he abandonado el redil' (1981: 40). An impulse to change perspective comes from within her and makes her leave, a scheme which means that the novel could be identified as what Rita Felski calls 'the novel of self-discovery', where a 'psychological shift requires a physical departure,

given that autonomy cannot be asserted in a repressive environment' (1996: 134).

Many critics point to her mother's lack of love as being key to understanding Elia's enterprise[144]. While I agree that the absence of maternal love is emphasised in the novel, it is the fact that no one knows Elia—neither her mother, nor her daughter, nor her husband—which defines the journey:

> ninguna de las dos me piensa de verdad, para ninguna de las dos existo de verdad, al igual que tampoco he podido existir nunca para Julio, porque si hubiera existido para él, de verdad, tal como soy, un solo instante, se hubiera producido el milagro. (1981: 29)

The miracle in question is none other than love and it occurs with the introduction of the character of Clara. I will argue that it is Clara's arrival, rather than Julio's disappearance or her mother's absence, which makes Elia's journey possible.

A traditional bildungsroman relates the coming-of-age of a character who, after an emotional loss, embarks on a journey searching for answers to the conflicts s/he has with society and typically completes the journey with enough experience of the world for her/him to overcome disappointments. *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* is a bildungsroman of sorts, what I will call a *relational bildungsroman*, since Elia is not so much in search of herself as

[144] See e.g. Ordóñez (1984), Servodidio (1987). Oliver Medina argues that '[e]ncontrar a la madre y saber amarla es […] la piedra angular de la escritura regresiva de Esther Tusquets. Una búsqueda afectiva que repite en toda su obra y que sitúa a la propia autora y a su madre en el centro de sus creaciones' (2016: 5). He dedicates a full chapter of his dissertation to the analysis of the mother-daughter conflict in Tusquets's literary corpus (see chapter 5: 'El retorno de Hermes'). For a deeper analysis of the figure of the mother as a socially constructed ideological category in Tusquets's autobiographical works *Carta a la madre* (1996), *Ser madre* (2000) and *Habíamos ganado la guerra* (2007), see also Servén (2013).

in search of a person able to know her and to whom she can tell her stories of the past.[145]

El mismo mar is a relational bildungsroman that goes beyond knowing oneself and even beyond knowing the other. It is a novel about love as intimacy, understanding intimacy, as Michaël Foessel does, as 'una relación en la que se está "cerca de sí mismo en el otro", porque se le concede al otro el derecho de mantener un discurso verdadero sobre lo que somos' (2010: 89). Although I perceive Elia as a subject *becoming* in love, and not already in love, I do concur with Foessel on the idea that: 'el sujeto enamorado no se desprende tanto de sí mismo como de su alteridad en relación con el otro' (2010: 89). This construal differs from the psychoanalytic idea of the self (especially the feminine self) as a mere construction of the other.[146]

Elia's becoming in love is a transitional process whose progress can be traced as the narration subtly evolves. The first time we are told about Clara is through Maite, an old friend of Elia:

> Maite acudió ayer a la casa de mis padres para contarme una historia curiosa—estuvo contando mil historias, pero acudió, estoy segura, para contarme una única historia, con la que logró, por más que me irrite reconocerme así manipulada, poner en pie mi afán de juego y mi curiosidad. (1981: 53)

[145] Other novels by Esther Tusquets have been analysed as bildungsroman, e.g. *Siete miradas* (Molinaro and Pertusa-Seva: 2004) or *Para no volver* in *Post-totalitarian Spanish fiction* by Robert C. Spires.

[146] My interpretation differs from an interpretation of Clara as 'una especie de alter ego, de espejo en el tiempo, de la narradora' (Valbuena 1994: 70); 'las dos encarnan las dos caras de la Bella y la Bestia' (Manteiga 1988: 28). It also differs from the psychoanalytic exploration of the 'sujeto tusquetsiano' by Oliver Medina, in which he concludes interpreting 'la autoficción tusquetsiana, como narración elusiva' (2016: 16), i.e. exclusive to a single subject.

The narrator's ironic view displays ambivalence, in this instance between Elia's awareness of Maite's intrigue and her curiosity, an ambivalence that reoccurs throughout the novel presented as a crossroads between either having control over or being unexpectedly carried away by her feelings for Clara.

Maite's implicit proposal—to meet this love-struck young Colombian student who attends Elia's lectures on Ariosto at university—is accepted by Elia as a game in which she is a spectator 'tal vez curioso, tal vez ligeramente interesado, pero en modo alguno comprometido' (1981: 84). Elia cannot possibly reciprocate Clara's feelings (or so she thinks), not because she is married to Julio but due to her traumatic experience of love with her first (and hitherto only) love, Jorge. Elia's previous experience of love is revealed throughout the novel, as the protagonist engages in sharing the most meaningful episodes in her life with Clara. This progressive disclosure signals the degree of intimacy between Elia and Clara, while establishing a parallel between Clara and Jorge, which is essential to my interpretation of the novel.

This parallel between Jorge and Clara is established as soon as Elia meets Clara. Her impressions of Clara are often linked to memories of Jorge, principally because both are foreign to Elia's world: 'es en cierto modo su extranjeridad irreductible lo que hace posible introducirla aquí, en estos ritos que no entiende y tal vez no sabe siquiera que se trata de unos ritos' (1981: 79).

As discussed below, Jorge came to rescue Elia from the symbolic labyrinth in which she was trapped, as in a rite of passage.[147] Unlike Jorge, Clara is not Theseus. While some critics affirm that: 'Acompañada por Clara, Elia emprende un viaje plagado de ritos iniciáticos' (Cornejo 2007: 147), I will argue that in the present of the novel, the rite of passage is no longer Elia's but Clara's.

Underpinning the idea of a relational bildungsroman and the concept of love as intimacy, the fact that Elia seeks someone who can fathom her (or her story, which is ultimately the same thing) converges with Clara's coming-of-age: 'La estoy introduciendo sin advertencias previas en un rito iniciático, quizá con la esperanza de que no entienda, o quizá con la secreta esperanza, con el prohibido deseo, de que después de tanto tiempo alguien pueda entender algo por fin' (1981: 79).

Elia brings Clara to different scenarios of her life, places and rites that she both reveres and ridicules and, in the process, intimacy grows between them. One of the first scenarios is a party—one that Elia calls the 'Apoteosis de las Tetas'—organised for Barcelona high society. In this party described as so full of female nudity that 'los hombres rondan desorientados y perdidos a su alrededor, ¡tan relegados a un segundo papel!' (1981: 96), male power might not be visible but is present nonetheless. Similarly to Elia's family, there seem to be only women in this party, yet they are no more than objects.

[147] The rites of passage were first theorised in the early 20th century by ethnographer Arnold van Gennep in his *Les rites de passage* (1909) and later taken up by anthropologist Victor Turner. Van Gennep established the three stages of liminality within the rite: preliminal (separation), liminal (transition) and postliminal (incorporation). Rites of passage have now been fully adopted into other fields and the term 'liminality' has broadened to describe political and cultural change as well as rituals. It is relevant in the context of this thesis that during transitional periods, there is a certain dissolution of order that enables social hierarchies to be reversed or temporarily dissolved, new institutions and customs to become established, and future outcomes once taken for granted to be thrown into doubt.

The hostess, who makes sexual advances towards Elia in the bathroom, is described as 'un objeto rarísimo y exquisito, tremendamente costoso, importado de tierras muy lejanas para solaz del miembro más poderoso del clan' (1981: 101). It is the host—the 'emperador', the hostess's 'dueño y señor' (1981: 103)—who rules the party.

The morning following the party, Elia invites Clara on a sailing trip in her boat. Although it should have been 'una salida a dos en persecución de alguno de mis viejos fantasmas' (1981: 105), the hostess from the night before ('Odette', Elia calls her) comes along. Clara, annoyed by the fact that the sailing trip is not for Elia and her alone, brings a fourth party, a pretty, young French woman.

In the scene in which the four women go sailing, Elia pictures Clara as the Ugly Duckling (in contrast with Odette—the White Swan in *Swan Lake*—): 'veo la espalda flaca y el cabello al viento de mi patito feo enfurruñado' (1981: 106). If Clara is undertaking a rite of passage, she remains now in the liminal stage, but unlike the Ugly Duckling's transition maturing into the most beautiful swan in the flock, Clara shows a body 'tan crispado y tan pálido […] que no es siquiera todavía un cuerpo de mujer' (1981: 111)—an image that is intensified in comparison with the bodies of the other two women/swans. The contrast between Clara and the other two women is not merely a question of beauty but is also a matter of vulnerability: while Clara's nudity exposes her, the other two women are 'espléndidamente ataviadas en su propia desnudez, más cubiertas que nunca, más a salvo que nunca, tras la coraza de sus cuerpos desnudos' (1981: 110). What matters to Elia, however, is the fact that Clara 'ha concentrado en sí toda la posible desnudez del

mundo' (1981: 112) and once undressed, in all her vulnerability before Elia, her nudity is not only physical and their relationship is no longer a game.

From this moment, the narration grows in its ambivalence. Through a series of homoerotic and sexual scenes in which sex and love merge into an increasingly meaningful experience, Elia's resistance—'me había propuesto cortar esta historia tan tonta, tan artificiosa y egoísta por mi parte, y no obstante quizás solapadamente peligrosa' (1981: 122)—is ultimately undermined by Clara's exposure and manifested desire, to the extent that Elia admits: 'sé que aunque sus manos me soltaran ahora, yo ya no me levantaría de su lado' (1981: 115).

Clara's coming-of-age entails a sexual liberation that evolves through several encounters led by Elia. Here I agree with Catherine Bellver's statement that: 'Rather than an end in itself, eroticism in Tusquets' novels serves her protagonists as a possible avenue to freedom and an opportunity for self-affirmation' (1984: 25).

If we understand a bildungsroman as 'a novel form that is animated by a concern for the whole man [*sic*.] unfolding organically in all his [*sic*.] complexity and richness' (Swales 1978: 14), *El mismo mar* gives Elia a role as initiator in Clara's rite of passage and mediator in Clara's 'unfolding': 'lo único que importa ahora es que Clara haya dejado de temblar, porque quiero que *se expanda y florezca* esta noche sin miedo y sin sudores' (Emphasis added. 1981: 153).

At first, Clara's sexuality was manifested in an anguished way—'de repente oigo que la ondina, muy bajito, ha empezado a gemir'—, a moaning that Elia experiences as being painful, though not exempt from erotic appeal—'siento que la herida que el gemido ha abierto en mí se hace honda

y lacerante, la punzada feroz de un hierro al rojo vivo' (1981: 137). In line with Bellver's interpretation of Tusquets's construction of 'a positive vision of female erotic energy' (1984: 25), other critics insist on the efficiency of her powerful erotic images: 'Tusquets' use of sexual imagery is so pervasive that one experiences an erotization of much of the narrative body of the text' (Levine 1987: 206).

After a few encounters, Clara's expression of pleasure is without embarrassment or desperation, liberated and in parallel with Elia's pleasure:

> el gemido de Clara es de pronto como el aullido de una loba blanca degollada o violada con las primeras luces del alba—pero no hay temblores locos esta vez, no hay gemidos entrecortados, porque el placer brota, seguro y sin histerias, de lo más hondo de nosotras y asciende lento en un oleaje magnífico de olas espumosas y largas. (1981: 155)

The eroticism articulated through lyrical images evokes the constant fluidity of the sea. Bringing together pleasure and love, this fluidity dissolves gender identity and forces the reader to reconsider previously held ideas.

At this point of the narrative a parallel is established between Elia's amorous relationship with Clara and her love story with Jorge. The narrative also begins to highlight a stark contrast between Elia's relationship with Clara and the one with Julio, explored below.

Clara's initiation into sex and her final sexual liberation converges with the evolution of Elia's sexual/textual discoveries. With the use of *sexual/textual* I am not referring here to Toril Moi's critical discussion of the Anglo-American and French strands in feminist criticism *Sexual/textual*

politics (1985). Rather, I concur with Elizabeth Ordóñez's interpretation of female authors' desire to rewrite their own stories in the 1970s and 80s in relation to sexuality: 'to read writerly self-consciousness in texts by women without some consideration of the links between textuality and sexuality would be to overlook a central concern of today's women's writing' (1987: 50). The connection between sexuality and textuality in Elia's relationship with Clara is highlighted by several critics: Linda Levine argues that 'if Jorge's abandonment of the narrator has left her mute, textless, desexualized, her involvement with Clara gives her the possibility of creating a new discourse and a new form of sexuality' (1987: 206). Another connection between sexuality and textuality is made by Katarzyna Moszczyńska-Dürst when she correlates an erotic subversion with 'otra estrategia de subversión muy cara a la autora, a saber, la creación de un lenguaje femenino propio de acuerdo con los postulados de la escuela del llamado feminismo francés de la diferencia' (2017: 464-5).

Before meeting Clara, Elia had resigned herself to living dedicated to 'recontarme a mí misma por milésima vez las interminables, las inagotables viejas historias' (1981: 29), stories about her own coming-of-age 'que repiten con distintas melodías un único fracaso' (1981: 30)—that is: her failed attempt to break free from the dominant structures and her subsequent incapability to construct a subjectivity of her own. When Elia meets Clara, she sees their relationship as 'un mero pretexto mío para contar y revivir viejas historias' (1981: 104).

The development of intimacy between Elia and Clara allows the former to go from recounting the same old stories, to telling new ones: 'palabras que ignoraba yo misma que estuvieran en mí, en algún oscuro rincón de mi

conciencia […] en este templo mío donde asumo todo lo que soy y lo que no soy y lo que amo y detesto a un tiempo' (1981: 138). By sharing an intimacy with Clara through which Elia can be who she genuinely is, Elia accepts herself, a self-acceptance that is key to the *sentimental counter-education* of the authors in this thesis, further examined in the following section on *L'hora violeta*.

The love between Elia and Clara becomes an uncontrollable force able to rekindle life, one that could change the entire world. They create their own utopian space in which the protagonist, in amazement, confesses her absolute happiness. This exceptional power, Elia says,

> no puede concluir en nosotras mismas, debe abarcar también a todos los oprimidos, a todos los tristes, a todos los injustamente pisoteados, a todos los solitarios de la tierra, este amor debe ser capaz de arrastrarnos hasta cimas insospechadas, debe llevarnos a transgredir por fin todos los límites, a violar de una vez para siempre todas las normas, y luego a reinventarlas […]—el viejo sueño de ver unidos arte, amor, revolución. (1981: 184-5)

This way of experiencing love for Elia is only comparable to her love for Jorge. Fragments of Elia's traumatic relationship with Jorge are scattered throughout the novel, but only at the end do we hear the whole story and the parallel between him and Clara is clearly drawn.

Jorge's story takes the form of a fairy tale: 'Empiezo para Clara la Historia de Jorge como se empiezan casi todos los cuentos—como si así, bajo el disfraz de un cuento, pudiera doler quizás un poco menos: Éranse una vez un rey y una reina…' (1981: 189). The importance of Tusquets's use of fairy

tales together with myths and classical literature (on most occasions, blended together) has been examined in detail in much of the literature about the author, pointed out in the literature review. Many critics see what Emilie Bergmann, talking about other Spanish female writers, expresses as 'an intertextual dynamic between mythic models and a female protagonist's problems of development' (1987: 141-2). Although I acknowledge the importance of subverting these archetypal models that come from myths and fairy tales, I point out how the confusion of female subjectivisation is linked to very concrete sociopolitical aspects. What interests me most is that the story of Jorge does not start with Jorge or Elia, but with Elia's father and mother—the king and the queen—, giving relevance to Elia's history and sentimental education.

The most radical difference between Elia and her parents is precisely the way they understand love: while Elia sees it as a liberating force, her parents perceive it as 'algo fuera de lugar, algo tópico y lindante con el mal gusto' (1981: 190). This is the origin of Elia's sense of alienation within her family and her divergence from the symbology and morality of her social class:

> ¿y qué se podía hacer si algunas veces entendía cuentos y lecciones al revés—me armaba a menudo un lío sobre quiénes eran los buenos y quiénes eran los malos, me ponía infaliblemente en el bando de los perdedores y los perseguidos, e igual me daba por llorar inconsolable en los finales supuestamente más felices? (1981: 192—3)

Jorge is perceived as Theseus, an outsider who will come to rescue Elia from this kingdom to which she does not belong—a figured labyrinth with a

Minotaur where she is trapped. Elia's happiness at being in love is intensified by the fact that her love is an act of rebellion. The subversion that Elia and Clara's relationship presents to patriarchy is clear, as Mary Vásquez puts it, it works as: 'a metaphor for a different way of loving and being, free from the entrapment of man and woman alike in the self-serving, yet surely self-defeating, power plays imposed by the 'raza de enanos' on its members' (1988: 19). I see, however, that in the passages where Elia narrates her love story with Jorge, there is a similar subversion of the power hierarchy imposed by the 'raza de enanos' —the Catalan bourgeoisie, the 'winners'. What I argue here is that love (the way Elia perceives it) is a liberating force that can subvert power dynamics and that is why a parallel is created in the novel between Elia's love both for Jorge and for Clara.

Elia enjoys imagining how her mother would react when she knew 'que iba a romper muy pronto con aquel futuro grotesco que tan cuidadosa como inútilmente habían ido disponiendo para mí, que iba a dejar un mundo que no era, que no había podido sentir jamás como mi mundo' (1981: 72). Together with her past, Elia wants to leave behind a future that has already been designed for her to ensure the continuity of the matrilineal succession and to avoid any disruptions in this bourgeois patriarchal context. Elia fantasises choosing the words she would tell her mother: '"nuestra guerra ha terminado y yo vencí"' (1981: 73). Echoing the dichotomy between winners and losers of the Civil War, Elia's revenge on her mother is one on all winners.

Jorge himself personifies an inversion in the winners/losers dichotomy which, according to Elia, restores justice and eliminates privileges:

> yo avanzaba al fin con él, y él me llevaba por fin hacia la libertad, hacia el encuentro definitivo conmigo misma y con

> los hombres—ni reyes, ni siervos, ni dioses: hombres entre hombres—, porque avanzábamos hacia unas tierras sin fronteras donde las gentes tenían que ser forzosamente mejores y distintas... (1981: 196)

This shift from a context of repression that alienates her to one that interconnects love, freedom and justice will finally enable Elia's subjectivisation.

The story, however, has a traumatic ending: Elia and Jorge start living together and one day she arrives home to find that he has committed suicide in the bathroom. The motives for his suicide are unclear but it would be fair to argue that it is provoked by the unfolding of political events under the dictatorship. We have seen how 'desencanto' and 'desamor' come together in female characters, one being the manifestation of the other: from the impossibility of their love after Jorge's death stems Elia's fatal cynicism about the possibility that she could break the yoke of the past. If with Jorge, '[l]a vida iba a ser distinta' (1981: 197), Jorge's death implies that life could not be different and Elia's own liminal stage towards freedom gets interrupted. Elia is thus unable to become a free subject.[148] She goes back to the kingdom, labyrinth, or trap where she came from and assumes the future that was planned for her, eventually marrying Julio, thus restoring the (bourgeois/patriarchal) order.

If the novel begins with Julio's disappearance, it is his reappearance that marks the beginning of the end. Elia and Clara's intimacy in which Clara

[148] Simone de Beauvoir's theory about women's lack of subjectivity resonates here. In *The second sex* (1949), de Beauvoir argues that women are positioned as immanent beings while men are considered transcendent and that is why women (Elia in this case) seek the transcendence of their being through the love of a man (that of Jorge).

is imagining love anew—'va construyendo un futuro imposible para nosotras dos […] al que habremos de volar muy pronto las dos convertidas en radiantes mariposas' (1981: 184)—is interrupted by Julio's call, 'repitiendo muchas veces que me ama—seguro que me ama, el imposible amor de un caballero inexistente—' (1981: 202).

Julio, a winner of the Transition whose image we already have in mind (with his impeccable suit and his expensive, bespoke products), arrives to pick up Elia in his ostentatious car and with a 'gesto posesivo protector' helps Elia into the car 'como si yo fuera una ancianita o una inválida' (1981: 204). His gesture, one that negates her agency, is the first of many in a process of disempowerment that erodes Elia's intention to return to Clara and progressively restores her to her original trap. From the moment Julio reappears, Elia's (re)subjectivisation is not only interrupted; moreover, it suffers an involution.

Another parallel is established here, this time inversely: every aspect of Elia's relationship with Julio is in opposition to Elia's relationship with Clara, defined as 'un amor vacío de programas y de metas' (1981: 181). Once in the car, Elia states: 'no necesito siquiera mirar hacia atrás para saber que la parte trasera del sputnik está *atestada* de rosas rojas' (Emphasis added. 1981: 204)—roses on display that, being excessive themselves, immediately evoke the dramatic behaviour of Elia's father at the summer party analysed above. Elia does not even bother to read the card accompanying the roses in which Julio, incapable of originality, has written 'las dos únicas palabras del ritual' (1981: 204). These two words of the ritual—'te quiero'—'se desvanecen en el sin sentido' (1981: 205) when it is Julio who utters them not only because, as mentioned at the beginning of the novel, he does not know Elia—

something which impedes intimacy—, but also because his conventional way of understanding love—within the patriarchal bourgeois parameters—is opposite to Elia's. I see Julio's need for such manifestations of love explained in the relation between patriarchy and capitalism, because: 'Structurally love is implicated in the maintenance of gender division and institutionalized heterosexuality, as well as being subject to external constraint and regulation and caught up in the demands of consumer capitalism' (Jackson 2014: 36).

Julio follows a classic template for a romantic date by taking Elia out for dinner. When they finish, Elia expresses her wish to return to Clara, to which Julio responds condescendingly, suggesting that the three of them can live together for a while if that would make Elia happy. Julio's response leaves Elia without a possible adequate reaction: 'y es como el instante en que mi padre colocó en las rodillas de la pobre Sofía el cesto disparatado lleno de rosas de cera' (1981: 213). In this exact moment, Elia realises she is doomed and makes explicit a connection with this past episode (rather than with a myth or a fairy tale). It is the incompatibility of love as she perceives it with the inherited sentimental education and male exertion of power and control within the patriarchal/bourgeois system, that has killed her subjectivity (like Sofía's) and any possibility of further subjectivisation.

After dinner, as planned, Julio takes Elia to have sexual intercourse in a place described as 'una caja de mariposas muertas' (1981: 214). If, with Clara, Elia had imagined herself as a flying butterfly, with Julio she becomes a dead one.

The experience of love/sex between Elia and Clara entails the removal of personal boundaries, a complete self-abandonment to the other—'Clara ha derrumbado de golpe todas sus defensas […] Clara se desliza en mis brazos

tan inerme y abandonada, tan absolutamente mía, que siento una angustia extraña' (1981: 162). In contrast, Elia's description of Julio's narcissistic perception of love and sex as an exertion of power is the antithesis of intimacy: 'juego cruelísimo y no obstante banal de sexo y de poder, o de poder a través del sexo, perverso juego narcisista, implacable juego de múltiples espejos, en busca siempre de la propia imagen' (1981: 162).

Julio, embodying the patriarchal capitalist paradigm, approaches sex in terms of power and property. The sex scene that follows is described in detail with a patent lack of eroticism. In it, Julio is subject and Elia is object: 'el hombre coleccionista me manipula, me maneja, me dispone en posturas distintas como a una muñeca bien articulada' (1981: 215). The fluidity observed between Elia and Clara disappears with Julio: 'en una embestida brutal, su sexo me traspasa' (1981: 215) and the act becomes a performance: 'un gesto tan espectacular, tan circense, tan exacto, que te dan ganas de aplaudir—lástima que no pueda moverme ni liberar las manos—' (1981: 215). In her analysis of women's 'agentic dimension', the sociologist Violet Barriteau explores 'if and how women internalize a sense of powerlessness that becomes crippling' (2014: 81). The ending of *El mismo mar* illustrates Elia's lack of agentic dimension to the point of becoming, as Barriteau describes, a crippled being.

It has been argued that the fact that Elia screams with pleasure during this sex scene proves the reactionary nature of the novel (or at least of its end), but what we observe is a primitive pleasure that Elia herself resists, 'los labios apretados y la garganta contraída para no gritar, para no gritar de dolor, pero sobre todo, ante todo, para no gritar de placer, este torpe placer' (1981: 215). While Clara's coming-of-age consisted in the unfolding of her own desire as

liberation, the characteristics of Elia's pleasure in this passage: 'histérico y crispado, inevitable y odioso como la misma muerte' (1981: 215) is the expression of a subject going back to a pre-liminal stage.

On the subject of a disappointing ending, we find e.g. Rosalía Cornejo who, borrowing Adrienne Rich's term, talks about Tusquets's 'compulsory heterosexuality' (1995: 58) and agrees with Paul J. Smith when he points out that 'for Tusquets any escape from the rigours of patriarchy will be hesitant and provisional' (Quoted in Cornejo 1995: 59). Linda Levine interprets Elia's pleasure in this specific scene as 'equivalent to the subversive maxim generated by the male fantasy: "every woman wants to be raped",' and continues:

> While Tusquets may have written this passage as a prelude to the protagonist's final renunciation of any authorship over her own life […] she has nonetheless overdone her battle scene and has dubiously projected a male mentality onto her female character. In this sense, she ultimately misreads not just her narrator, but in a more global sense, woman's sexuality, and the passage is noticeably jarring for a feminist reader wary of the image of woman masochistically enjoying violent sex. (1987: 208)

My reading is a different one. If we compare this passage with other scenes of the novel in which the narrator's sexuality is captured, we realise that in this particular scene erotisation is absolutely absent. My interpretation of the previous passages leads to a perception of pleasure (love and sex) as liberating for both Elia and Clara, while in this brutal scene, it is made explicit that sex now entraps Elia.

As Levine mentions later in her article: 'Tusquets herself has commented in a lengthy interview with Víctor Claudín that she considers herself "muy moralista" and that in *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* "la protagonista se tiene que ir y no se va, lo que yo califico de inmoral"' (Quoted in Levine 1987: 208). In my opinion, if Tusquets decides to challenge the happy ending (i.e. renouncing Elia's liberation from the trap embodied in Julio and her return to Clara), she does it in order to show the dangers of an inherited sentimental education that impedes women's agentic dimension.

In this sense, I agree with Maureen Stanley when she states that: 'Tusquets's depiction of her protagonist's capitulation to patriarchy denounces a social order that breeds in women a sense of worthlessness and learned helplessness' (2014: 21-2). This 'sense of worthlessness and learned helplessness' comes from the models for 'growing down' examined above.

Elia's return to Julio cannot be a happy ending. Even though Julio behaves according to the archetype of a Prince Charming and follows the romantic love scheme to the letter, he is nothing but the consequence of Elia's failed process of subjectivisation, and the burden of a sentimental education that keeps her trapped.

Clara's coming-of-age is thrown into uncertainty when Elia does not come back. Clara's initial reaction seems to be an expression of its incompletion: the fact that she becomes the emperor's lover (the 'emperor' being how Elia referred to the powerful host of the party mentioned above), indicates the possibility that Clara submits to the rules of the bourgeois patriarchal context. Maite (who was the one who first told Elia about Clara) informs Elia that: 'nuestra Clara—¿nuestra Clara?—es la nueva amante, o que al menos ha pasado la noche […] con el emperador' (1981: 218). It is

made clear, however, that Clara does it out of spite and that it is a brief episode.

Elia's reaction is one of torturous powerlessness:

> Me quedo en la cama agazapada e inmóvil, las piernas dobladas contra el pecho, como en las primeras reglas de la adolescencia, cuando habían aparecido rastros ya de sangre y no había empezado sin embargo todavía el dolor […] esperando el instante intolerable y cierto en que una hiena monstruosa y desenfrenada me devoraría durante horas las entrañas sin lograr hacerme morir. (1981: 219)

I disagree with critics who see in this scene (and others that show Elia's suffering) an unjustified victimisation of the protagonist, arguing that 'la verdadera víctima es el recurrente personaje de Clara' (Cornejo 2007: 178). If we understand Elia's victimisation as the expression of a traumatic and incomplete subjectivisation, then the fact that Clara's coming-of-age is brought to completion de-victimises her, as explained below.

Elia's rite of passage failed when Jorge unilaterally decided to die, leaving Elia unable to become a subject in the new space of freedom they shared. While Jorge is a subject who 'había elegido y tomado en sus manos, con libertad suprema, con definitiva eficacia, su destino' (1981: 225), he makes it impossible for Elia to choose her destiny by herself. Sanz Villanueva's perspective is opposed to my interpretation of Elia's destiny as doomed: 'Lo sustancial de la conclusión es que decide volver al círculo familiar y matrimonial en ejercicio de su voluntad de mujer libre e independiente' (1998: 133). I argue that Elia never becomes a full subject, which impedes the agency that Sanz detects in her.

Due to this impossibility, a happy ending that would reunite Elia and Clara is unachievable, but unlike Jorge, who never confronted Elia, Elia chooses to confront Clara in order to set her free:

> intacta o casi intacta su capacidad […] de explorar nuevos mundos subterráneos, de aprender a volar y de que le nazcan alas, tal vez porque yo—aun traicionándola—le he dado la posibilidad que a mí me negó Jorge, la posibilidad de dar la réplica. (1981: 226)

While in his analysis of this last encounter Oliver Medina's argues that '[p]arece ser, finalmente, que el legado de Elia a su amante es el certero conocimiento de la imposibilidad de la felicidad' (2016: 137), in my interpretation, this enabling moment de-victimises and frees Clara insofar as it completes her subjectivisation, thus giving her the potentiality of being happy.

The quote by J.M. Barrie that opens the novel '"…Y Wendy creció"' (1981: 229) is also the last sentence of the novel, whispered by Clara in Elia's ear, 'como prueba inequívoca de que hasta el final me ha comprendido' (1981: 229), rekindling their intimacy. This scene is most controversial: while some critics state that 'any possible hope for Clara's future is refuted by the novel's concluding words' (Kingery 2001: 58), arguing that they mean Clara's loss of 'her capacity to love fully' (Kingery 2001: 59)—a loss that will make Clara betray her future partners as Elia has betrayed her—, other critics see in these same words ('Y Wendy creció') that 'la aventura les ha facilitado un conocerse a sí mismas, y con ello la libertad de acción,' locating here 'el mensaje feminista de la novela' (Valbuena 1994: 171).

I argue that Wendy is Clara (and not Elia) who has 'grown up' (and not 'down') and, even though the expression entails a loss of innocence (let us not forget that Elia has broken her heart and Wendy cannot return to Neverland), it also represents the post-liminal stage of Clara's coming-of-age. Elia allows Clara to respond to the situation, 'dar la réplica', thereby giving her a voice—and power with it—, and Clara rids herself of the fantasies that have kept Elia trapped (which in the scheme of the bildungsroman means her acquisition of experience to overcome disappointments).

Elia narrates the processes of her social conditioning by 'growing down' models through the rites to which she takes Clara. In recognising the repression inherent in her family and in her social context, Elia acknowledges her own participation in that repression, but also impedes Clara from entering into that same social context. On reflection, to conclude, I see Tusquets's *sentimental counter-education* in the fact that Clara becomes a full subject; the reasons why Elia never does are pointed out throughout the entire novel and constitute Tusquets's warning to women in the Transition.

4. Whoever said women's only concern is romantic love? Roig's *L'hora violeta*

Roig's *L'hora violeta* has three female protagonists contemporary to the Transition, Natàlia, Norma and Agnès, and two other female characters, Judit and Kati, who are of the previous generation and whose stories are written by Norma. The lives of all these women are interconnected, each ancillary to the others, which, when taken together, acquire a full meaning. In this chapter, I will engage with Natàlia, Norma and Agnès, rather than with

Judit and Kati, in order to continue my reading of the subjectivisation of female characters during the transitional period.

I will focus first on Agnès's learning evolution in her experience of romantic love as an emancipatory story. The way this develops will allow us to closer examine the most traditional way of understanding normative heterosexual relationships and progressively advance, as Agnès rids herself of the symbolic power exerted over her, towards a more contemporary understanding of women as free and full subjects as opposed to women as relational beings.

I will move on to examine the thoughts and concerns of two characters, Norma and Natàlia, whose subjectivities are contrary to Agnès's in the beginning. Despite being depicted as emancipated women actively involved in feminism, we will see how they also struggle with the idea and experience of love. The concept of love as natural or cultural will be analysed through the way each character chooses to express it and the role of literature in the construction of this expression. I will explore Norma and Natàlia's attempts to subvert gender roles as well as the problems they find in feminism when dealing with the disjunctures between old and new *usos amorosos* in post-dictatorial society.

As a vital part of Roig's *sentimental counter-education*, I intend to finish this chapter by suggesting that the author combines both Norma and Natàlia's reflections to thoroughly revise the feminisation of love, a revision that results in a complex theorisation which challenges the traditionally misogynistic idea of women's irrationality and which expands women's concerns to the public sphere, going beyond romantic love into a wider exploration of democratic society that remains pertinent to this day.

Let us start with Agnès's story of emancipation. Agnès is the female character who most willingly embraces traditional values. Her story is told from the point when her husband Jordi starts a relationship with Natàlia, eventually leaving the house where they live with their children. This is perceived by Agnès as an abandonment.

As commented on in Chapter Two, Agnès's renunciations and sacrifices have previously enabled Jordi to undertake his political activities, which are considered priority for both. As soon as Jordi moves out, her life loses its meaning and becomes 'una cadena de mañanas hechas de vacío' (Roig 1986b: 35).[149] Incapable of a practical response to Jordi's disruptive decision to leave her, Agnès does not know what Jordi means when he encourages her to have a life of her own: 'No podía comprenderlo. Su vida era la de Jordi. ¿Por qué tenía que elegir otra?' (1986b: 39).

Agnès's care for Jordi over the years has resulted in a *loving power* that Jordi takes with him, leaving her empty-handed. According to Anna Jónasdóttir, in Western societies there is an unequal exchange of care and pleasure between men and women, in which men tend to 'economise' women's love. This exploitative exchange of caring and loving powers 'occurs under conditions which leave women unable to build up emotional reserves and authoritative social forces which can be used freely and "invested" for women's self-defined interests and for the good of all—as defined by women' (Jónasdóttir 1991: 107-108).

The economisation of women's love grows into an even more complicated phenomenon as soon as labour power and love power become

[149] All subsequent quotes from the novel in this section will be referenced by date and page number.

enmeshed together both structurally and experientially, '[a]nd because women care *about* those they care *for*, they do not recognize this arrangement as exploitative. Caring becomes integral to how women practice love, and is therefore valued by them' (Jackson 2014: 43)—thus, Agnès's acceptance of Jordi's life being her life.

Without the emotional reserves needed to rebuild her life, Agnès's state is repeatedly described in terms of nullity. She feels abandoned and without a life of her own, but at the same time, resists being victimised: 'no quiso hacer un drama, como su madre. Como su madre, que se arrodilló delante de la puerta del recibidor pidiéndole a su padre que no la dejase' (1986b: 35).

This abandonment of her mother by her father constitutes a traumatised memory in Agnès, a ghost that conditions her understanding of amorous relationships: 'siempre tenía presente la misma imagen de su madre: arrodillada delante de la puerta del recibidor, aferrada a los cerrojos, lanzando un grito largo y discontinuo' (1986b: 35). The contemplation of her mother's tragic manifestation of suffering (clutching at the lock of the door as if trapped inside) had made Agnès believe that the worst thing that can happen to a woman is her husband's abandonment of her. This trauma was revealed in her frightened reaction when Jordi first expressed his love for her: 'cuando Jordi le dijo te quiero, ella lo apretó muy fuerte contra su pecho y solamente le dijo, quizá con el mismo grito interior, desesperado y discontinuo de su madre, no me dejes nunca, no me dejes' (1986b: 35).

According to the new *usos*, a woman in Agnès's situation is expected to be independent. Agnès refuses to openly replicate her mother's desperation but lives the experience with similar anguish because her sentimental education is as insufficient as her mother's to understand her husband's

abandonment of her. Her impotence and lack of control over their relationship is revealed in a dream in which she does not have the resources to confront a mysterious challenge:

> sueña que debe examinarse y no sabe de qué […] le han dicho que ha de hacer un curso y no sabe de qué, si no hace el curso la suspenderán. Y no sabe de qué la quieren suspender ni tampoco de qué se ha de examinar. (1986b: 39)

Agnès commits to the archetypal role of Penelope: 'Le dijo, ésta será siempre tu casa […] Ella sería su puerto de salvación, le esperaría' (1986b: 60)–what Catherine Bellver called 'the Penelope Syndrome' (1987). Like Candela in *Crónica del desamor*, Agnès identifies with the *reposo del guerrero,* a gender performance that 'formaba parte de un ritual' (1986b: 59). Agnès invites Jordi over every Sunday, carefully planning and cooking a meal for him, always smiling and above all hiding her anguish. According to Illouz 'the accumulation of successful interaction rituals creates emotional energy that becomes a kind of resource we can capitalize on, a way of dominating others, and of building further social capital' (2012: 120). Even separated, Agnès's love—her 'emotional energy'—is capitalised on by Jordi who accrues social worth by letting himself be loved as part of this ritual.

Norma (who is a friend of Agnès) and Agnès's mother react to her behaviour in opposite ways, representing the two extremes of the disjuncture Agnès inhabits. Norma, a confirmed feminist, insists on relating it to the power imbalance, especially in relation to the burden of work involved in having a family: 'Los hijos son de la mujer, afirmaba Norma. ¿No ves que el hombre lo sabe, y que por eso ha inventado las leyes a su favor?' (1986b: 59),

encouraging Agnès to leave Jordi behind, and to carry on with her life. Her mother, on the contrary, is convinced that Jordi will go back to Agnès, so advises patience: 'es un buen chico, volverá, porque ha encontrado en ti lo que no encontrará en ninguna mujer. Has de tener paciencia' (1986b: 38). Even though Agnès admires Norma for her independence and agrees with her, she does not have a life of her own, thus Agnès/Penelope continues waiting.

Agnès's life is both strenuous and monotonous, working and taking care of their children alone: 'Vuelve, vuelve a correr, Agnès, que todavía es poco… Y los días son una larga cadena que jamás nadie romperá, Agnès' (1986b: 89). This routine affects her relationship with their children, as expressed in a letter she imagines writing, telling them how broken-hearted she feels:

> Buscáis un roble en vuestra madre y ella se siente hecha astillas. […] Os deseé porque quería mucho al hombre que entonces vivía conmigo, y ahora no sé si aquel deseo era sólo un producto de las novelas románticas que había leído. (1986b: 90)

This represents a turning point in which romantic love in general and her love for Jordi in particular are questioned.

Their separation highlights the fact that most decisions in Agnès's life have been less a choice than a social imposition and, moreover, that it was Jordi and not Agnès who benefitted from them. Agnès resents it for the first time: 'Le costaba perdonar los años gastados para nada junto a él, haber dejado de estudiar para que él pudiese dedicarse a la vida clandestina, y también, el que le hubiera llamado pequeña, pequeñina mía…' (1986b: 99).

It is through love that Jordi exerts a symbolic power over Agnès. Agnès is finally able to confront such reality when she becomes aware of the impositions of his love, acknowledging how his love (or rather, her love for him) had pushed her to make adverse decisions.

Agnès's detachment increases, as she becomes used to Jordi being present only on Sundays. Her love object is not Jordi anymore, but one created by her imagination (like Ana's Soto Amón in *Crónica*):

> *se inventó* un hombre a quien poderle contar todo lo que le pasaba cada día. […] cuando Jordi iba para recoger a los niños—o para quedarse a cenar—, Agnès le recibía de una manera mecánica, como si Jordi ya no tuviera nada que ver con *el hombre con quien ella soñaba* cada noche. (Emphasis added. 1986b: 100)

In dissolving the identification between Jordi and the ideal of romantic love, Agnès miraculously feels free from her anguish and notices for the first time the existence of a neighbour upstairs—Francesc or Captain Haddock as her sons call him—who has been helping her with the children. The day before he moves out of the city, Agnès and Francesc have dinner together and, after putting the kids to bed, they have an intimate conversation. 'Francesc le preguntó, ¿estás bien, Agnès? Y Agnès se dio cuenta entonces de que nadie, ni su madre, ni Norma, se lo había preguntado' (1986b: 100). She is shocked by such a simple question, because it addresses her as subject and not as the relational being she has been for so long.

When Agnès gives vent to her feelings, Francesc 'no le echó un largo discurso, como Norma, sólo dijo, nos hacemos tanto daño… El problema no es que no nos queramos, sino que no sabemos cómo hacerlo' (1986b: 100-

101), stressing the idea—which similarly has prominence in the other novels examined in this thesis—that a gender division may be damaging to men and women alike and causes a lack of communication and understanding. Francesc and Agnès have sex that night. Rather than being a substitute for Jordi, Francesc symbolises Agnès's final stage in her process of retracing her sentimental education.

In the end, Jordi does come back but, by the time he does so, Agnès is not Penelope/her mother anymore. To his proposal of getting back together, her answer is 'no':

> Agnès sólo decía, no. […] Era como si al fin cruzase la puerta del recibidor a la que su madre se aferraba lanzando aquel llanto largo y discontinuo. Había atravesado la puerta y decía que no. Y Jordi intentó abrazarla muy fuerte, como antes, y le preguntó, ¿es que hay otro hombre en tu vida? ¿Es que le amas, es que quieres vivir con él? Y Agnès sólo se sonrió. (1986b: 268)

There are critics, like Brenes-García, who, in their analysis of Penelope's archetype in *L'hora violeta*, do not acknowledge Agnès liberation: '*The Violet Hour* redeems the figure of Penelope. She waited for Ulysses and some women like Agnès, *still do*' (Emphasis added. 1997: 106). While Catherine Bellver liberates Agnès of such a role, she interprets it as a consequence of a different set of experiences—'the dense silence that inundates her life, her nightmares, an affair, and the excruciating image of her mother's humiliation' (1987: 114)—rather than as a process of emancipation, which constitutes my argument.

Agnès's story undermines some of the causes of the lack of symmetry in the relations between men and women—the exercise of emotional domination by men, women's acceptance of symbolic power—, making visible the central role that romantic love (as power) has in it. The end of *L'hora violeta* progresses Agnès's evolution: a process of empowerment that enables her to surmount the trauma inherited from her mother, and ultimately to have a life of her own.

In contrast with Agnès, Norma and Natàlia are aware of the conflicts between their sentimental education under the dictatorship and transitional *usos*, and they often put them at the centre of their discussions. Throughout the novel, Norma and Natàlia establish a dialectic and complementary relationship. Their conversations show contradictions and disagreements which, together with their coincidences, provide a richer (and intricate) view on the tensions between passionate and romantic love, the possibility of subverting gender roles, the problems of communication between men and women and the limits of feminism in solving them—interconnected topics that are most relevant and specific to women's transitional subjectivisation, as we will see in the following analysis.

When thinking about and experiencing love, Natàlia and Norma operate in opposite ways: Natàlia openly expresses her rational concerns about it but internally struggles with her feelings while Norma uncritically embraces her feelings in front of others but internally questions them. Ultimately, they both expose two aspects of love: one that is felt spontaneously and one that is constructed.

Natàlia and Jordi have a relationship for four years after which Jordi decides to go back to his wife Agnès. Natàlia's inner monologue, addressed

to Jordi throughout the novel, contradicts the attitude towards the breakup that she shows publicly. On one hand, Natàlia refuses to be victimised and acts accordingly, giving the impression that the breakup does not affect her: '¿Recuerdas cuando me dijiste que volvías con Agnès? […] ¿Qué te dije yo, Jordi? Ah, sí, no te preocupes, te dije, no te preocupes' (1986b: 50). On the other hand, in a kind of confession exclusive to the reader, her real feelings emerge: 'lo soportarás, eres como una roca. Eso me dijiste, Jordi: eres como una roca. Como una roca. Claro que tú no veías cómo *me deshacía en mil pedazos*, cómo *me estrellaba contra un muro*' (Emphasis added. 1986b: 50). Despite Natàlia's insistence on the power of reason over emotions, she is consumed by her feelings in the face of Jordi's desertion: 'este sentimiento me devora como una gangrena' (1986b: 47).

In the beginning of the novel, Norma is married to Ferrán (with whom she has children). Then, like Natàlia, Norma also gets involved with a married man, Alfred, and by the end of the novel she too is single. Norma's feelings when meeting Alfred correspond to those depicted in romantic literature, and she is well-aware of it: 'Al enamorarse, perdió el apetito y el sueño. No se podía controlar. Mi cuerpo reacciona *como un personaje de novela*, pensaba' (Emphasis added. 1986b: 207). However, when Natàlia compares Norma's behaviour to the behaviour of others—following such a constructed pattern—, Norma reacts by denying it: 'Ella quería vivir su pasión y no toleraba que nadie, y menos aún Natàlia, le pusiera límites' (1986b: 207).

Natàlia, albeit privately, also puts up resistance to the limits imposed on passionate love when, reading *The Odyssey*, she mentions Calypso's accusations to the gods as she is forced to let Odysseus go: '*¡Sois implacables, dioses, y más aún celosos! / Porque no perdonáis a las diosas que duermen*

sin recato / con el héroe a quien han elegido y a quien aman…' (Italics in the original. Roig 1986b: 26). Evoking the Greek nymph, Natàlia also reminds the reader of the romantic heroine who, in Ortiz's treatise, is judged to be unjustly punished for loving freely. Although Natàlia refuses to be caricatured: 'No quiero por nada del mundo que me tomes por una mujer histérica, no quiero que me veas haciendo dramas' (1986b: 47), the fictional references to her own drama are present in the inner monologue.

If Natàlia reminds Norma of the clichés of love in relation to her emotional behaviour, Norma in turn makes Natàlia face the fact that her rationality is overpowered by her feelings. Like Norma, Natàlia also reacts: '—¿Qué sabes tú? No eres Dios, Norma' (1986b: 230).

While literature, as a shaper of the fictional emotional imagination, does seem to condition their feelings and behaviours, Norma is not only a reader but also a writer and can actively participate in the (de)construction of that tension between passionate and romantic love: 'Natàlia tenía razón. Ella no era Dios. […] Pero podía escribir' (1986b: 230).

L'hora violeta starts with Natàlia's request to Norma to write a book about her mother Judit and Judit's friend, Kati. Writing turns Norma into an active participant in the construction of a fictional emotional imagination that will in turn influence sentimental education, thus when considering the contradiction between liberating and confining love, Norma resolves to change Kati's story in favour of the former: 'Fue entonces cuando *decidió que Kati se suicidara* para castigarse, porque tenía miedo a seguir viviendo después de la muerte de Patrick' (Emphasis added. 1986b: 208). In a metaliterary act, Norma gives her character an agency that concurs with the notion of love as a liberating power for women, freeing Kati of the

confinement in which she would have found herself had she lived during the dictatorship, as we saw in Chapter One.

I argue that through Norma and Natàlia's reflections, Roig builds a *sentimental counter-education* that compensates the reader for a shortage expressed by Norma: '¿Por qué tenemos tan poca experiencia en el amor? […] ¿Por qué no nos han hablado de él en la escuela del mismo modo que nos hacían aprender de memoria el abecedario?' (1986b: 249).

In their dialectic, Norma and Natàlia also reflect on gender roles. Norma's resolution to change Kati's destiny is related to her own concerns and struggle with love. Like Kati, she challenges the constraints imposed on her gender in ways that make Natàlia envy her: 'Norma no quiere renunciar a nada. Ni al mundo de los hombres, ni a ser plenamente mujer. […] Quiere vivir de una manera intensa la vida privada y la vida pública' (1986b: 40). Like Kati, Norma experiences sexual desire openly, which is generally restricted to men: 'Aprendió a contemplar el cuerpo de un hombre y entendió la mirada masculina cuando acecha el cuerpo de una mujer' (1986b: 208). Despite all this, Norma is still forced to comply with social rules: 'Alfred siempre regresaba a su mujer, eso era un hecho' (1986b: 210), hence (gender) order is restored and Alfred, not Norma, defines the terms of their relationship.

Natàlia refuses to play a typically female gender role altogether, arguing that she does not identify with other women. According to Norma, sympathy between women requires the comprehension of the essence of the traditional female role which is precisely what Natàlia repudiates:

> tienes que haber pasado por ese papel tradicional. Haberlo interiorizado, haber pensado que ésa era la única razón de

> tu vida. Que eso de hacer feliz a un hombre y de prolongarte en los hijos era el aspecto más maravilloso de la existencia. […] Sólo así, creo yo, podrás entender a las demás mujeres. (1986b: 97)

Natàlia not only rejects the concept of sacrifice for the professional career of a male partner (a traditional female practice as we have explained above, in the analysis of the evolution of Agnès's subjectivity) but also renounces motherhood for her own professional career: 'Yo soy como los hombres, Jordi, como los hombres. ¿Me oyes? Y así lo decidimos cuando quedé preñada de ti y te dije que no quería hijos, que mi obra eran las fotografías' (1986b: 93-94). Natàlia's repudiation of her gender is so firm that with one procedure she terminates both a pregnancy and her reproductive capacity altogether, by having an abortion and her Fallopian tube cauterised, solely for that reason: 'En el aeropuerto de Heathrow tuviste que ayudarme a andar, tenía el cuerpo medio paralizado, pero no me importaba, por fin era como un hombre, como un hombre, como un hombre' (1986b: 94).[150]

As Natàlia rejects the traditional gender role assigned to her, it could be argued that she should be able to create a new life for herself, imagining her own space beyond the hegemonic division. This undoubtedly anguishing task is aggravated by the fact that Jordi goes back to Agnès: 'Pero tú te vas, Jordi, te vas, y mi promesa acaba en mí, en mí' (1986b: 94).

Herein lies the contradiction: Natàlia, who fights against letting herself be swept away with romantic love and who has not acted in line with gender

[150] As already mentioned in relation to Montero's *Crónica,* abortion is a common topic in the novels examined in this thesis. In *El temps de les cireres*, the narrator mentions that Natàlia had left Barcelona to travel to London for an abortion. In *L'hora*, it is made explicit that abortion in London is a normal practice: 'el ginecólogo nos dijo, eso es fácil, vais a Londres, abortas allí y, de paso, que te cautericen las trompas' (1986b: 94).

roles is, by the end of the novel, as trapped as the other female characters who have:

> Ahora tendría que esperar, y no sabía qué. Esperar, destino pasivo de las mujeres (de nada le servían, habría querido decirle a Norma, todos los libros y los mítines sobre feminismo. Ahora, la única diferencia es que lo sabía, que sabía que no le servían de nada). Tendría que esperar. (1986b: 260)

Natàlia's existence, like Agnès's, has also been validated by Jordi's love: 'creo que comencé a vivir el día en que tú me dijiste ¿sabes que me gustas?' (1986b: 37) and the consequence of the break-up is 'un mezquino sentimiento de derrota' (1986b: 47). Not knowing that Agnès will refuse Jordi's offer to rebuild their relationship, Natàlia is led to think that in the end only the Penelopes—women who conform to their gender role—, and never the Circes or the Calypsos, fulfil their romantic desires. In Catherine Bellver's words: 'Natàlia suspects that women who do not possess Penelope's capacity for waiting are condemned to failure' (1987: 118).

Now that Jordi is no longer in her life, Natàlia pictures herself becoming Penelope: moving back to her aunt Patricia's flat, merely waiting for him to call. The discourse of romantic love is constructed on the idea of the couple; there may be love triangles, but it entirely excludes being single. 'La máquina del amor y su relato solo produce un tipo de soltería: la espera. […] O estás en amor o estás en busca de amor' (Rowan and Nanclares 2015: 97). Even nowadays this is still the perception of being single, even more dramatically so in the case of so-called 'spinsters'. The novel does not, however, adhere to

what Natàlia sees as an inevitable outcome for herself: being left waiting by the telephone. I will return to this later.

The disjuncture between old and new *usos amorosos* gets deeper as we continue reading Norma and Natàlia's reflections. Both attempt to challenge gender roles without success. They also expose the failure of communication between the sexes: 'establecer un lenguaje común entre un hombre y una mujer no es otra cosa que un engaño del romanticismo' (1986b: 54), says Natàlia; Norma, along the same lines, wonders: '¿Y si fuese mentira lo que el romanticismo nos hizo creer, que puede haber una comunicación "eterna" entre los dos sexos?' (1986b: 72).

This lack of communication which caused a profound disaffection between the sexes was a general concern in Western societies, not only in Spain. In *The Hite Report on Female Sexuality* (published in 1976 and translated to Spanish the following year), Hite found a pattern amongst heterosexual women respondents: they demanded more communication with their husbands but reported meeting resistance, or emotional disengagement, when they tried to initiate closer communication.

The cause of this lack of communication is the gendered condition of sentimental education, clearly exposed in the novel: 'Norma me dijo una vez que había leído en no sé dónde que Madame de Stäel decía que, para las mujeres, el amor es la historia, mientras que para los hombres sólo es un episodio' (1986b: 50). Romantic sentimental education, a product of modernity, was a powerful legitimising element of the *usos amorosos* under the dictatorship. The disjuncture comes as soon as women stop resigning themselves to being the *ángel del hogar* (a relational being): it is when they perceive themselves as subjects, that their concept of love, being

differentiated from that of men, can make them dream only of unachievable things (communication, for instance).

When Norma confesses to her extra-marital affair, her husband is surprisingly relieved: 'Norma le exigía a cada instante un amor intenso, una profunda comunicación, como ella decía. Sin embargo, lo que necesitaba Ferrán era un hogar, y si Norma no era capaz de dárselo, lo buscaría por otro lado' (1986b: 187). 'Un hogar' is understood here to be the standard heterosexual marriage, in which 'the male used marriage as a place from which operate, while the wife organised the means of his settled existence' (Giddens 2008: 155). Therefore, it is only natural that Ferrán sees in Norma's confession an opportunity to find a woman who would accept the traditional terms of marriage the way Norma used to.

The narrator describes the beginning of Ferrán and Norma's relationship and its decline from Ferrán's perspective, which fits Giddens's description of the standard heterosexual marriage cited above:

> Norma en la cocina, y, después de poner el disco de Mozart, la *Júpiter*, le preparaba una de aquellas ensaladas que a él tanto le gustaban. Y, mientras Norma se movía por la cocina, él se encerraba en el despacho para ordenar el papeleo. Quería ponerse de inmediato a escribir su artículo sobre la vigencia o no vigencia del término "dictadura del proletariado…". Y luego harían el amor. […] Pero sucedió que Norma empezó a entrar en el despacho de Ferrán a cualquier hora, […] y no se daba cuenta de que Ferrán se ponía nervioso, pues así no había modo de terminar el artículo, los de la imprenta le acuciaban, y es que Norma no

quería entender sus ansias de encerrarse, de estar solo…

(1986b: 187-8)

Feminism provides Norma and Natàlia with an ethical/political option, the way Marxism does to Jordi or Ferrán (examined in Chapter Two): 'he creído durante mucho tiempo en el feminismo como en una nueva ética' (1986b: 73), says Natàlia. Although feminism is not a magic solution to the transitional disjunctures of their sentimental education, it opens up a new political consciousness.

Norma and Natàlia's knowledge of and participation in feminism is detailed in the novel, creating 'una toma de consciencia aguda de la crisis y la necesidad de buscar respuestas más allá del dogmatismo fácil' (Moszczyńska-Dürst 2017: 270). Both characters highlight feminism's insufficiencies in the face of their inherited sentimental education: 'tenemos que decir que ya no queremos el príncipe azul, cuando nuestro subconsciente todavía lo reclama' (1986b: 72), says Natàlia, recognising one of the conflicts of women's subjectivisation in the post-dictatorial context.

From Natàlia's perspective, feminism reveals itself as insufficient not only because it does not bridge the wide gap between men and women, but also because it promotes the battle of the sexes and indulges the position of women as victims: 'las feministas, que siempre esperan a ver qué pasa para codificarlo todo en hombre-malo y mujer-víctima' (1986b: 14). This leads to a mistaken sisterhood:

Cuando alguna de nosotras pasa una crisis amorosa, todas las amigas nos echamos encima como buitres. Y estoy segura de que en nuestros ojos puede adivinarse aquello de, ¿ves?, ya

> te lo decía yo. No hay amor que dure, todos los sentimientos acaban mal. Eso es la solidaridad entre mujeres. (1986b: 51)

This harsh reaction, however, only takes place in relation to heterosexual amorous relationships and to the matter of the gender division. When talking about relationships between women (of love, sex or friendships), Natàlia sees how feminism empowers them, creating 'una complicidad establecida. Un lenguaje común, tal vez no hecho exactamente de palabras ni de razonamientos, o tal vez no hecho únicamente de esas cosas. Había, también, risas, sonrisas, abrazos, caricias' (1986b: 74).

In Norma's case, her main complaint about feminism is that: 'no había previsto la pasión amorosa, intensa, total, entre un hombre y una mujer' (1986b: 246-7). A problem that remains unsolved. In her 2012 book *Why Love Hurts?*, Eva Illouz affirms that the one fundamental question her book tried to account for is 'the fact that the feminist revolution—which was necessary, salutary, and is unfinished—has not fulfilled men and women's deep longing for love and passion' (2012: 239).

Women's solidarity troubles Norma because, being incompatible with her feelings for Alfred as a married man, it forces her to either be faithful to her feelings or faithful to her principles.

> Pensó que se enfrentaba con el más turbio de los sentimientos: ¿cómo podía compaginar la pasión amorosa con la solidaridad entre mujeres? ¿Tenía que renunciar a un amor que había nacido sin buscarlo, como brota el agua en la montaña? […] Norma no quería renunciar a Alfred, mientras que su mujer odiaba a las militantes feministas porque intuía que una de ellas le había quitado el marido. (1986b: 240)

All the elements considered up to this point come together in a dilemma that recurs, as does the theme of memory examined in Chapter One, throughout the novel for both Natàlia and Norma. In my opinion, *L'hora violeta* is invested in solving a problem that is key to a democratic society in transition: how to reconcile abstract love for humanity with love for people taken as individuals, two kinds of love (one political, the other personal) that are considered to be incompatible as a consequence of the stark gender division imposed during the dictatorship.[151]

The narrative creates two correlations: one between abstract love for humanity and male characters, and another between concrete love for individuals and female characters, according to both the separation of public and private spheres and the feminisation of love established by modernity. Men's struggle takes place in the public sphere and concerns society as an abstract mass of people while women's sphere encourages intimate relations—romantic love falls into this category—, aligning them with involvement in the others' personal problems.

For women to have access to the broader and arguably more ambitious love—love for humanity—, they need a man.[152] Not only does women's sentimental education impel them to find a partner as the most important aspect of their journey towards fulfilment and away from loneliness, but also as a key to enter the public sphere which is men's domain in a gender-divided world.

[151] The nature and relevance of this dilemma can also be connected with the open debate during the political transition between feminist activists who believed that feminism is part of a larger struggle and those who thought that feminism should enter politics on its own.
[152] As in the case of Elia's subjectivisation through Jorge's love analysed above, here we find echoes of Beauvoir's foundational theories. See footnote 205.

> Cuando me dijiste, ¿sabes que me gustas?, me pareció que el mundo recobraba la armonía perdida. Quería tus ideas porque hacían que me sintiese mejor. Siempre había desconfiado de las mujeres que viven a través de un hombre, pero yo creía que, al compartir tu amor a la humanidad, salía, por fin, de mi lucha individual. ¿Y qué importaba, si el camino eras tú y nada más que tú? Lo que había más allá valía la pena. (1986b: 97)

Here Natàlia experiences an opening-up to the world through Jordi, identical to the one Norma obtains through Ferrán–and the one Elia obtained first with Jorge, then with Clara in Tusquets's *El mismo mar*. They soon detect, however, an incompatibility between the two kinds of love: 'Quería amar la humanidad a través de ti, Ferrán. Y también me había olvidado de las personas' (1986b: 184).

That these kinds of love are mutually exclusive creates the need to choose, and the inability to feel and understand the other kind stems from that choice. Norma and Natàlia see the consequences of this incompatibility as a problem, for instance, in the light of the PC failures: '¿desde cuándo la vida práctica tiene algo que ver con la teoría revolucionaria?' (1986b: 59), Natàlia asks Jordi; similarly, Norma asks Ferrán: 'El paro llega a todas las familias, Ferrán, ¿de qué sirve creer en la democracia si no hay pan?' (1986b: 187). According to the reproaches of Natàlia and Norma, the failures in Jordi and Ferrán's political struggle are caused by their blindness to what happens in the intimate sphere—the personal inhibitions and emotional incompetence of the losers of the Transition, as advanced in Chapter Two.

Once women have access to public debates, even if it is through men, they are able to observe the connection between both spheres, and the separation of spaces only affects men from that point on. Natàlia berates Jordi: 'Tu amor a la Humanidad era tan abstracto que ahora tienes demasiada prisa en conquistar cosas concretas. ¿Has querido alguna vez a alguien, Jordi?' (1986b: 56); likewise Ferrán is reprimanded by Norma: 'Cuando llegas por la noche, sólo hablamos de lo que sucede fuera. Como si fuésemos dos vigías de la paz del mundo. Ya no hablamos de nosotros' (1986b: 205). Fighting for the common good, seen as a higher goal, seems to exempt Jordi and Ferrán from confronting individual problems and from engaging with others, which ultimately reveals these men's incapacities.

Natàlia's deconstruction of Jordi's abstract love, an altruistic love addressed to no one, puts in question its very essence:

> Tú tuviste que dejar de escribir en el momento en que elegiste el sufrimiento colectivo y te olvidaste del sufrimiento privado. Al entregarte a la humanidad en abstracto, no tenías que esperar nada. ¿Qué se puede esperar de lo que es anónimo, impersonal? Siempre creemos que la masa es agradecida, Jordi. Y la masa no es nada. Tenemos miedo de enfrentarnos con cada rostro, desligarlo del conjunto. Es más fácil querer a lo que no se conoce. Y entonces dicen, qué amor más generoso. Éste es tu caso, Jordi. (1986b: 70)

Not only does Natàlia imply that the love that allows Jordi to avoid individual suffering and disappointment is an easier choice for him, but also that it is born out of the fear to confront intimacy.

Writing is considered by Jordi an intimate activity and therefore incompatible with collective tasks, so he renounces it in favour of his political activism. Norma, also a writer, does not renounce it; instead, she refuses to make a choice and keeps challenging the incompatibility of the two kinds of love. In conversation with Natàlia, two central issues are raised:

> —¿Podremos amar a la humanidad sin amar a las personas?
>
> —Podemos—respondió Natàlia. Pero es más difícil amar a la humanidad sin que *te amen* las personas.
>
> —¿Y cómo se pueden compaginar ambos amores?
>
> —No lo sé, hija. Eso lo averiguarás *por ti misma*. (Emphasis added. 1986b: 198)

The first point made by Natàlia is the need to be loved by others in order to be able to love humanity. The second, that making both loves compatible is an individual task that requires one to confront oneself as full subject.

Let us connect the first idea with some of the elements analysed in this chapter. We have seen how men are well-equipped with the emotional reserves with which women's love provide them in their intimate relations. There is a gendered social pattern to love in the sense of 'giving love' as 'recognizing and affirming, in practice, the other person and her/his needs and goals as valuable in their own right, in a way not directed by one's own needs and goals,' and this pattern is that 'women tend to adapt more to men than vice versa' (Gunnarsson 2014: 98). As men are given women's love, they effortlessly engage in abstract love for humanity.

The love men receive in the private sphere frees them in a paradoxical way. *To free* and *to love* share common roots: the Oxford English Dictionary

conjectures that 'to free' comes from an Indo-European root meaning 'to love', shared by 'friend'. As Catherine M. Roach points out,

> [t]o be *free*, in this sense, is to be loved by others who share with you common membership in a family or clan or tribe, as opposed to the unloved slaves outside that inner circle. One is loved because one is free and not a slave but also—the paradox begins to develop—because one is tied firmly by and within bonds of community to others. (2016: 122)

Following this logic, we can see that having tight family bonds prepares men to act freely in public spaces while women, who sustain the emotional safety net that supports men, are at a clear disadvantage as such love is not corresponded to them in return. For instance, only because Jordi is devotedly loved by Natàlia can he reproach her for being excessive: 'no te he sabido querer de otra manera, Jordi. Te entregas demasiado, me dijiste, como si eso fuese un reproche' (1986b: 67).

In face of the incompatibility between love for humanity in general and love for people in particular—a correlative of the division of spheres—Jordi and Ferrán choose the former, but it is only because they are loved as individuals that they have the possibility of ruling out the latter. What they discard is committing to the possibility of loving passionately themselves, or intimately befriending others. Jordi explains to Natàlia that:

> los viejos militantes del partido se han censurado aposta el amor romántico, no han tenido más remedio. Para ellos, la mujer es la compañera de lucha. Si se hubiesen amado románticamente, digámoslo así, a buen seguro que no lo

habrían soportado. Quizás se habrían suicidado. (1986b: 104)

It is not that Jordi refuses love in itself, but he sees its drawbacks and does not love wholeheartedly. Natàlia assumes when he leaves her it is because 'se ha enamorado de una chica mucho más joven que yo. Una chica que no le debe de exigir tanto y que le dará un amor compatible con el de Agnès' (1986b: 14).

This detachment also applies to intimate friendships, which are perceived as too demanding. When his childhood friend, Germinal, has a car accident, Ferrán does not visit him in hospital—Norma does, even though he is not her friend and she barely knows him. When Germinal dies, Ferrán excuses himself from attending the funeral because he has a meeting and '[e]s imprescindible que vaya' (1986b: 168). Prioritising a political meeting over the funeral allows Ferrán to avoid confronting his friend's death.

In relation to love, Norma envies in Ferrán 'que era capaz de clasificar todos los afectos en cajones y no mezclarlos nunca. Que era capaz de volcarse en el trabajo intelectual y ordenar sus pasiones' (1986b: 209). Natàlia and Norma encounter the same incompatibility between the two kinds of love, but are not able to compartmentalise or choose between them. It is through personal love that they are able to connect to humanity: 'Con él amo al mundo, pensaba Norma. Sólo *amando de esta manera* puedo pensar en la humanidad' (Emphasis added. 1986b: 208). Loving wholeheartedly—precisely what male characters resist—has the potential to liberate and empower both women, allowing them to nurture a connection with humanity.

Unlike Jordi, Norma has not relinquished writing and is in search of a way to harmonise different kinds of love, which she achieves by the end of the

novel. As we know, Norma has just published a book about Catalans in Nazi death camps and she is still in contact with one of them ('el ex deportado que se parecía a Louis de Funes', as she calls him) who supplied most of the information for her book. After separating from Ferrán because she falls in love with Alfred, and after breaking up with Alfred because he does not leave his wife for her, she sequesters herself in her old house with the material she has on Kati and Judit in order to finish the book with which Natàlia has entrusted her. In the process, Norma is troubled by all these contradictions that require a resolution for her to be able to write.

> Su amor era tan grande que le parecía que tocaba la muerte con los dedos. La deseaba. Tal vez para nacer de nuevo. Como si regresase *a los orígenes de sí misma*, unos orígenes que desconocía. […] ¿Por qué el amor es único?, ¿por qué tiene que sobrevivir enterrando a los demás? Advirtió que no estaba preparada para entenderlo. (Emphasis added. 1986b: 209)

First, she needs to reconcile her love for Alfred and her love for humanity represented by the deportee: the clash between the two is recreated in a scene in which Norma hangs up on Alfred, who has telephoned asking to see her again. 'Norma colgó y se quedó un largo rato mirando el teléfono como si quisiera traspasarlo. Que llame, por Dios, que llame' (1986b: 230). She both wants and does not want to talk to Alfred because ultimately she fears being single: 'No quería vivir con Ferrán, no quería volver con Alfred, pero tenía terror a vivir sola' (1986b: 236).

In this tense moment, the telephone rings again and the person calling is not Alfred, but the deportee.

> Se irritaba, porque el tiempo pasaba y quizás Alfred trataba de telefonearla. […] Quería olvidar el sufrimiento del mundo, sólo ansiaba la llamada de Alfred, decirle que quería verle. […] Borrarlo todo, y oír únicamente la voz de Alfred. Borrar la soledad del ex deportado. (1986b:231)

Norma's love for humanity is not abstract, like Jordi's or Ferrán's. Embodied in the deportee, his presence makes the collective suffering concrete, bringing back a part of History that Norma wants to forget—as examined in Chapter One. In the dichotomy between the two kinds of love, passionate love works as a form of evasion:

> tenía mucho miedo a pensar que, si aquel amor se destruía, volvería a escribir sobre la Historia, sobre el pasado. ¿Era un refugio, o acaso expiaba algún pecado? Dios santo, pensaba, ¿por qué no son compatibles el amor a las personas y el amor a la humanidad? ¿Tendría que hablar del sufrimiento de los demás cuando el olvido hubiese vencido a su pasión? (1986b: 232)

Norma clings to passionate love not only to elude loneliness but also to escape from History. Knowing that running away, however, does not eliminate the ethical dilemma, she aims for an all-encompassing love.

This brings us to the second point made by Natàlia: 'Eso lo averiguarás *por ti misma*.' Norma's glimpse of love through the unknown 'orígenes de sí misma' connects with Natàlia's realisation that 'la idea de transformar el mundo escondía un miedo tan oscuro y subterráneo que era preciso ocultarlo. Era el miedo a transformarnos nosotros mismos' (1986b: 97). After

distinguishing individuals within the crowd, the last step forward is facing oneself:

> Trató de mirarse al espejo y sus ojos no sostuvieron la propia mirada. No podía mirarse de hito en hito, con los ojos de la imagen dentro de sus ojos. La visión se le hacía insoportable. En aquella mirada no había fingimiento. […] Era ella misma que pretendía entenderse, comprender cómo era sin la mirada de los demás. (1986b: 251)

Norma engages with the most intimate of all loves, the love for oneself,[153] confronting her fear of loneliness, face to face with herself in all honesty, without performing any assigned role, and does not like what she sees.[154] A sexist upbringing and a differentiated sentimental education create a confidence gap between the sexes in which lack of self-esteem or self-assurance is more acute for women:

> men's tendency to see women's calls for approval as exaggerated must be seen in light of women's tendency to make sure men's needs for approval are satisfied. […] In this way, men can live their lives under the illusion that they are not dependent on approval from their partners, thereby undermining sympathy for and identification with their partner's similar needs. (Gunnarsson 2014: 100-1)

[153] In Alicia Ramos Mesonero's edited volume *La incógnita desvelada. Ensayos sobre la obra de Rosa Montero* (2012), Anne-Marie Pouchet analyses Montero's *Crónica del desamor* also insisting on the importance of reflecting on the need to love oneself.

[154] The gender difference in self-perception in which women tend to underestimate themselves while men do the opposite has recently been extensively studied, especially in relation to professional success and socio-economic achievement. See e.g. Kay and Shipman (2014).

Linked to what happens with the unequal exchange of loving power that prepares men to act freely in the public sphere, we see a similar dynamic in relation to self-esteem.

Norma asks Natàlia about her self-perception:

> —Y… cuando has aprendido a mirarte y te ves de una manera que no te gusta nada, ¿cómo te libras de ello?
>
> —Aceptándolo, ¿no?
>
> —¿Y no crees que eso es una claudicación? ¿Una renuncia?
>
> —No. Sólo cuando te hayas sabido mirar a ti misma aprenderás a mirar lo que te rodea. Tal vez entonces sabrás amar a la humanidad y a las personas al mismo tiempo. (1986b: 252)

Men avoid intimacy on the pretext of being occupied with public issues, women avoid public issues on the pretext of being occupied with romantic love. When the deportee dies, Norma regrets not having paid attention to him because her attention was fixed on Alfred: '¿Tenía que morirse el viejo deportado para que ella se diese cuenta de que ningún amor es exclusivo? ¿Que cada amor requiere un tiempo y un espacio?' (1986b: 266).

By the end of the novel, Norma has decided to write about H/history through the stories of Judit and Kati. It is their personal and intimate stories that will compose a collective one: 'Todo se iba a recomponer. Pero no de un modo pacífico, sino a través de la lucha. La lucha por convertir en uno solo el amor colectivo y el amor individual' (1986b: 267).

Rosalía Cornejo interprets this ending focusing on the 'homosentimentalidad' between Judit and Kati, which she interprets as: 'el

catalizador de un compendio de transgresiones genéricas, políticas y sentimentales que señalan que *la transformación de lo público no puede producirse sin una transformación de lo privado*' (Emphasis added. 2007: 204). I understand the importance of the relationship between Judit and Kati in Cornejo's terms and, following a different path in my analysis of the female characters contemporary to the Transition, I have arrived at a similar conclusion that transformations in the public and the private spheres are interdependent.

Returning to Natàlia, despite admitting her submission to love—'¡Qué razón tiene el viejo Homero! A las mujeres, por "muy honestas que sean", se les trastoca el cerebro por culpa del amor' (1986b: 51)—, her capacity to rationalise has not diminished and, like Norma, she will confront the challenges of her time:

> Y al fin se persuadirá, gracias a la vieja y querida razón, de que todo se ha acabado. Acabado. Y, ¿quién sabe?, a lo mejor, a la larga, no le importará nada, todos creen que es fuerte […] y que mira de frente a la Historia, a su tiempo, a la hora colectiva… (1986b: 260)

As Susan Kirkpatrick affirms in *Las románticas*, modernity established women's only concern to be romantic love: 'Todas las demás formas de deseo—ambición, rebeldía, *aspiración de mayor bien para la humanidad*—ni siquiera se consideraban en relación a las mujeres' (Emphasis added. 1991: 63-64). With their final statements, Norma and Natàlia counter-argue two misogynistic ideas: the first, which is classical and had special relevance in medieval Spain, is women's irrationality; the second comes from Romanticism and states that women's only concern is (or must be) love.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how the work of the authors in this study disputes the narrative of a new Spain. Their writing describes the changes brought about after Franco's death as somewhat cosmetic, manifest only at the level of appearances and in connection with the arrival of liberalism, rather than involving any profound shift in people's behaviour and understanding. While the hegemonic discourse concentrated on new economic advances and neglected elements of the dictatorship that persisted post-Franco, the authors in this study attend to a common (though invisible) inheritance, internalised by their characters, which I refer to (after Resina) as the Francoist *pathos*.

As Catherine Belsey states: 'The destination of all ideology is the subject (the individual in society) and it is the role of ideology to *construct people as subjects*' (Italics in the original. Eagleton, M. 2011: 340). In order for the characters in the novels to be able to emerge from the subjection they experienced under the dictatorship—hence, in order for Spain to become a free and democratic society—, they need to unlearn the Francoist experience and to deal with the problematic relationship between experiences, subjectivities and social structures in transition.

Transitional subjectivities face difficulties in overcoming the disjunctures between dictatorial and post-dictatorial ideologies. In this chapter, I have paid special attention to feminine subjectivities, whose development starkly differed from their masculine counterparts during the Franco period. The authors examined here attend to love, focusing on emotional and sexual relationships because it is through these that the

internalised tensions of a patriarchal society are most visible. In these novels, the personal sphere becomes a place to explore the political, and I have thus argued that their depiction of enchanted love deteriorating into a disenchanted experience reveals issues very much bound up with those that caused the political *desencanto*.

The stereotype of the traditional family is problematised by the novels in many ways: extra-marital affairs are depicted as normal practice in every novel (with adultery's negative consequences beyond legal measures, a reminder of the impossibility of getting legally divorced until 1981). There is an open demand for the legalisation of abortion and contraception, and motherhood is pictured less than ideally: some female characters have a complicated and distant relationship with their mothers and, although most female characters have children, they are not depicted principally or exclusively as mothers.

Transitional subjectivities find themselves caught between their sentimental education and the new *usos amorosos*. The difficulties in overcoming the disjunctures between dictatorial and post-dictatorial *usos* and ideologies are illustrated in this chapter e.g. by male emotional inhibitions or by the identification between female loneliness and singledom, as illustrated in the novels.

After exploring the general concept of romantic love as a cultural construction, I have grounded my analysis in the more concrete context of post-Franco Spain. Based on Illouz's notion of fictional emotional imagination, and sharing her conviction that individuals experience life through cultural texts, I have postulated that my authors shape a transitional fictional emotional imagination, creating a feminist *sentimental counter-*

education that confronts the inherited cultural patterns of Francoist patriarchy. In their novels, my authors (re)present new practices and, with this (re)presentation, they create alternatives that encourage readers to emancipate themselves from the old ones.

I have outlined three common aspects of these authors' construction of a feminist *sentimental counter-education*:

Firstly, the novels blame the sentimental education of the dictatorship, which was based on notions of gender division, for the lack of communication and understanding between men and women and for making their relationships a constant and unequal power struggle. I have interpreted the female characters' perceptions of their love-based and sexual relationships in the light of this unequal scenario which, together with the feminisation of love common to all Western culture, makes women responsible for providing care and pleasure. This results in a dynamic in which men capitalise on women's loving power, leaving women unable to define their own interests.

Secondly, in this chapter I have examined the dilemmas faced by female characters in their process of subjectivisation, which is conditioned by models for 'growing down' (instead of models for 'growing up', experienced by men) and which impedes their emancipation and aims to make them submissive subjects. Their submission is further reflected in their conformity, their fear of loneliness and their need for love. Female characters tend to adopt a relational identity that subjugates them to men's symbolic power, to their own detriment. Nevertheless, characters like Ana in Montero's *Crónica del desamor*, Agnès in Roig's *L'hora violeta* or Clara in Tusquets's *El mismo mar* (re)create a path towards emancipation that is clearly encouraged by the novels' *sentimental counter-education*.

Thirdly, in this chapter I have argued, in line with classical feminists, that the authors in this study perceive that love, although historically a source of oppression, is also the necessary condition for women's liberation. Female characters do not want to renounce love, but they reject the fixed patterns of romantic love and regard with ironic detachment its sexual and moral double standards and its legitimisation of male domination. The novels not only offer reflections on how the meanings of love are constructed and have a necessary impact on men and women's interaction in both the private and the public spheres, but also explore and project forms of love that are empowering and liberating. As Catherine Davies states in her study on the early novels of Roig and Montero: 'Their disquisitions on love can be read as highly subversive. The personal cannot but impinge on the political and private love provides a cell of resistance' (1994: 119).

In her analysis of novels written by women and published between 1975 and 2015, Moszczyńska-Dürst observes: 'en la esfera privada, numerosas reflexiones y emociones, y ante todo contradicciones internas e ideológicas que caracterizan a las narraciones ubicadas en los años setenta y ochenta, guardan parecidos sintomáticos con las narraciones procedentes de la postransición española' (2017: 461). I have examined how Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz reposition questions of love and sex within new frameworks of knowledge, tracing the continuing presence of the Francoist *pathos* and the necessary changes that must take place in the personal sphere in order to make possible a real transition to democracy—a transition that I believe has still not been realised.

Final conclusions

After 1975, most of Spanish society was eager for democracy. The intention of making a democracy out of the forty-year-old dictatorial state gathered momentum, and the expectation that things were going to change reached its peak. According to the official discourse, the makers of the Spanish Transition led a historical process that succeeded thanks to the pact of forgetting and to the spirit of consensus, and these principles brought democracy to the country and created a brand new Spain. The process became its discourse and, every time the Transition's results were questioned, its discourse was brought back and reasserted with remarkable consistency.

According to the hegemonic chroniclers, only a restrained discourse could ensure the success of the Spanish Transition to democracy. Although their attempts to control the narrative were motivated by an intention to defend democracy, the voices that sought to impose a univocal discourse and that accused any challenging narratives of being a threat to democratic transition could only create a proto-democratic society. Democracy requires civic dialogue among an informed public free to exercise a critical perspective, hence: '[l]a lectura de la Transición no es otro episodio de la reconstrucción de una ciudadanía crítica. Es la condición de su posibilidad' (Monedero 2013: 42).

A reinterpretation of the *process/discourse* of the Spanish Transition is surfacing today because the consequences of what was achieved then are revealing themselves now. This reinterpretation is important because it shapes expectations about how things could be in the future: 'control over the

narrative of the past means control over the construction of narratives for an imagined future' (Barahona *et al*. 2001: 38).

Contrary to those who feel the need to protect the legitimacy of the hegemonic discourse, I believe we need to deconstruct the myth of the Transition, understanding it as an undesirable burden which imposed a collective memory, stops its actualisation and impedes the creation of a *cultural memory* able to empower people.

In this project, I have sought to contribute to the ongoing revision of the Transition and to challenge the monopoly of the hegemonic *process/discourse* further by re-examining the early novels of Montserrat Roig, Esther Tusquets, Rosa Montero and Lourdes Ortiz as 'testimonial', as accounts that face challenging issues head-on, and give voice to multiple perspectives. I have transmitted these novels' (in)direct testimony to the period's conflict and dissensus through their characters' subjectivities and experiences. This re-examination has proved not only that the novels' accounts of the transitional process problematise (or even, at times, contradict) the hegemonic *process/discourse*, but also that their approach supports the one taken by today's reassessing views of the period.

When it comes to analysing the Transition, Cardús i Ros states that '[t]he difficulties lie in explaining not only the new mythical accounts of democratic Spain and how they have been imposed, but also what alternative accounts have been censored or delegitimized by the instruments of the new legitimate symbolic violence' (2000: 27). With this challenge in mind, I have analysed these authors' novels, arguing that they were pigeonholed in a feminine sub-canon and excluded from the general canon of the period.

The works of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz differ in many important ways, but each of these authors has contributed greatly to ideological and cultural renovation in the post-Franco context. In this study, I have posited that, taken together, their early works offer a privileged account of social changes—an account which acknowledges the fact that the dictatorship was much more than a political regime, just as the Transition was much more than the drafting of a constitution.

I have offered new insights into these well-known authors' work by articulating my analysis around the three most resilient narratives of the Spanish Transition as *process/discourse* in each of the three chapters.

Chapter One has provided a deeper insight into how the novels of Roig, Tusquets, Montero and Ortiz challenge both the dominant narrative of the pact of forgetting and the hegemonic perspective on History. We can see now, following Aleida Assmann's distinction between 'Holocaust-as-a-historical-event' and 'Holocaust-as-a-social-and-political-memory' (2006: 261-262), that, while official discourse represents the Second Republic, the Civil War and Franco's dictatorship as *historical events*—i.e. events that have to be codified and put away—, the literary narratives analysed here consider how these periods were experienced, approaching them as *social and political memories* that, in their transmission, affect society as a whole.

While the hegemonic discourse makes collective/public stories private/domestic, these novels give private/domestic stories a collective/public dimension through their recollection of individual 'historias', because, as Ángel Loureiro affirms: 'What really matters about the past is its effective and affective memory, the trace it has imprinted on

individual minds and on political practices and institutions, even if it is not "remembered"' (2008: 228).

The memory of the Transition refers to the way 'memory' was treated during the period—the (problematic) way that Spanish society had to (not) recall the previous half-century—but it can also refer to the codification and forgetting that the Transition itself suffered as a historical event within the *process/discourse*: 'una investigación sobre la *memoria de la Transición* muy bien podría acabar estudiando el *olvido de la Transición*, si no fuera por la memoria que se opone a los discursos oficiales y monolíticos: la memoria como resistencia' (Reinstädler 2007: 121). In this sense, memory as an act of resistance against forgetting in the case of the Spanish Transition is counter-hegemonic in itself.

Chapter One has reviewed today's discussion around the recovery of historical memory, exposing two approaches: one that insists on the importance of historical memory and other that rejects it, perceiving such recovery as a way of delegitimising the Transition as *process/discourse*. I have aligned the authors in this study with the former, arguing that today's democratisation of memory lies at the heart of these works' resistance to the pact of forgetting.

My understanding of the novels in this study as a form of *literatura testimonial* highlights both their engagement with past experience and their transformative potential. As Christina Dupláa writes: '[l]a Historia y la Literatura se unen para buscar fórmulas éticas a una estética que, además de representar simbólicamente la realidad, mantiene, como eje central de su existencia el *denunciarla* para *transformarla*' (Italics in the original. 1996b: 160).

If David Becerra affirms in his analysis of the most recent novels dealing with Spain's past, that '[l]a invisibilización de la línea que conecta el presente con el pasado es lo que convierte a estas novelas en estériles desde el punto de vista de la memoria histórica' (2018: 80), Chapter One has demonstrated that it is precisely the connection with the present that makes the novels in this study most fertile from the historical memory's perspective and for the creation of today's *cultural memory*.

In Chapter Two, I have explored the way the authors in this study portray male characters in the context of late Francoism and the Transition's consensus. I have interpreted the novelists' viewpoint as that of 'testigos sospechosos' who offer a critical eye on masculine subjectivities as they observe (from) the margins of a patriarchal, post-dictatorial society. As Joan Brown suggests, 'for men as for women, there is much to be learned from one's reflection in the eyes of the beholder' (1992: 68).

The novels consider the internalisation of the dictatorship as essential to a whole generation of male subjects, and they reflect a further division between the winners and losers of the Transition which has been hidden behind the narrative of a conflict-erasing consensus—a narrative that entirely neglected the experience of Francoism. Once again, the novels attend to individual stories, showing that they are not all equivalent. In so doing, they disrupt the politically-motivated narrative advanced by the consensus and which equated the suffering and sacrifice experienced by winners with that of the losers. The novels thus ultimately question the distribution of power that came out of this false equation.

In Chapter Two, I have firstly focused on the female characters' perception of the winners as symbols of a victory that supposedly belonged to everyone. The novels in this study depict the elite who led the transitional process as a group of men who have lost their values and who are more interested in the commodification of their environment than in the real welfare of a society that was suddenly classed as 'democratic'. The triumph of the consensus is challenged in the novels as they describe the marginalisation of large parts of society and acknowledge various uncomfortable realities, generally missing from the literature of the period. The novels show the Transition essentially as a transformation of Spain in a materialist society, and they depict a top-down process of depoliticisation that is seen more as the cause than the consequence of the transitional *desencanto*.

Secondly, Chapter Two has focused on the female characters' views of the losers, i.e. those who still wanted to fight for a complete break with Francoist institutions and who were not part of the 'representación' of the consensus—understood by Medina in the double sense of not being represented by it and of not being part of the performance of an apparent reconciliation. In Resina's a posteriori words, which relate to the performative aspect ('representación') of the *process/discourse*: 'Antes que un acontecimiento real, la Transición fue el efecto especial (también en el sentido cinematográfico) de una instalación colectiva en un presente que quería ser absoluto: el presente del mercado' (2007: 28).

The losers of the Transition, who were not able to adjust to the new era, embody the political violence and the social costs of the anti-Franco struggle. Just as the novelists in this study re-incorporate the democratic values of the Second Republic into the collective memory, they also explore the alternative

realities which the Transition's losers had envisioned as part of the anti-Franco struggle and, despite the fact that these realities were never realised, incorporate them into the collective imagination. The losers' stories are a stark warning that the transitional *reforma,* created by the consensus, secured the continuity of Francoist institutions. At the same time, the novels recognise democratic achievements as a bottom-up process, quite unlike the notion of democracy as it was understood in the hegemonic discourse. As such, these novels acknowledge something that nowadays is increasingly incontrovertible: 'La ciudadanía democrática […] estaba allí antes de que se produjesen los pactos por arriba, para establecer desde abajo las condiciones políticas en las que tuvo lugar el cambio de régimen' (Martín García 2014: 208).

Chapter Two contributes to the understanding of the Spanish Transition with the analysis of novels' critical view on the consensus' illusion of cohesion, echoing today's reticence to the 'Espíritu de la Transición' and concludes that, as they rescue the transformative power of leftist ideologies and their utopian narratives, even though they failed, the novels enable them to enter the collective imagination and remind us today of what is still there to achieve.

In chapter Three I have tackled the question of the 'new Spain' as felt and experienced by the female protagonists of the novels analysed here. I have discussed the economic nature of the changes that, highlighted by the establishment, aimed to proclaim a new Spain in contrast with the novels' demand of deeper social changes. The concept Francoist *pathos* refers to those social aspects that remained after the dictatorship was considered

formally over, and I have focused on the most intimate aspect of it: sentimental education. After examining it in the novels in this study, I have argued as follows. On the one hand, the narratives depict characters who are deeply conditioned by this Francoist *pathos* and show the damaging consequences that its sentimental education has for their subjectivity–perhaps because Tusquets is the oldest of the authors in the study, and therefore the one who lived longest under the dictatorship, we find the most drastic portrayal of these consequences in Elia's entrapment. On the other hand, the narratives challenge the Francoist *pathos* by constructing a *sentimental counter-education*: they (re)present new practices and, with this (re)presentation, create an alternative fictional emotional imagination that encourages the reader to emancipate themself from the old ones.

In the analysis of Montero's *Crónica del desamor*, Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos* and Roig's *L'hora violeta*, I have found many commonalities in their concepts of love, sex, gender roles and the division of spheres. They all contradict the narrative of the 'new Spain' showing a prevailing Francoist *pathos* that they intend to overcome.

Gender hierarchy during Franco's dictatorship was possible due to the feminisation of love, and love was understood as a pre-social emotion intensely felt by women whose subjectivisation was generally impeded, causing them to become relational beings rather than individual subjects. These novels reflect on how 'the meanings of love are constructed and elaborated through specific ideologies of love and through the "common sense" assumptions that are reinforced, renegotiated or contested in day to day interaction' (Jackson 2014: 36). Chapter Three proves that these novels'

assumptions and negotiations have a necessary impact on men and women's interaction in both the private and the public spheres.

I show that in the novels it is the hierarchical gender division which causes a lack of understanding and communication between the sexes and makes the amorous relationship a power struggle that is especially damaging for women. The results of my analysis support the idea that, in the novels examined in this thesis, love always has political connotations: it is linked to social justice and freedom, just as its opposite, 'desamor' is related to 'desencanto'.

The denial of the importance of personal experiences, memories, subjectivities and relationships creates significant omissions in the collective understanding of our past, present and future. Despite the affective turn in the Humanities that I discussed in my introduction, most (male) critics still leave the personal sphere out of their analyses.[155] When Kathleen Lynch talks about love as a political matter she states: 'Affective relations are of profound political importance, not only because they exist sociologically as sites of social practice, but also because of the interface between these and redistributive, recognition and representational realities in generating discrete forms of inequality' (2014: 185). There is a need for emotions and affective realities to be incorporated into political understanding.

Anthony Giddens argues that: 'Equalisation is an intrinsic element in the transformation of intimacy, as is the possibility of communication' (Giddens 2008: 149). Arguing *a contrario,* I have stated in this chapter that

[155] Eleanor Wilkinson in her critic against Hardt and Negri's *Multitude: War andDemocracy in the Age of Empire* (2005) highlights how the authors ignore 'the political potentialities of intimate life' (2014: 239), which means that '[i]ntimate life itself is depicted as apolitical or even depoliticized' (2014: 240) in their work.

the transformation of intimacy and the possibility of communication will lead to social equalisation, a vital part of democratic society.

While the hegemonic discourse of the Transition was being constructed, the authors in this study were narrating people's individual experiences, their memories, subjectivities and relationships in ways that contradicted the official narratives and that remain crucial to democracy. This thesis revises the canon of the Spanish Transition by addressing and amending the lack of transmission of these accounts. It has incorporated the sociopolitical issues of the period into the analysis because they are fundamental to the literary corpus; conversely, these texts offer fundamental insights into the sociopolitical issues not only of the Transition but also of our present. I believe that through the analysis of the novels in this study which considers them as being paradigmatic of the Transition, our perception of the period is widened and our *cultural memory* enriched.

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